



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

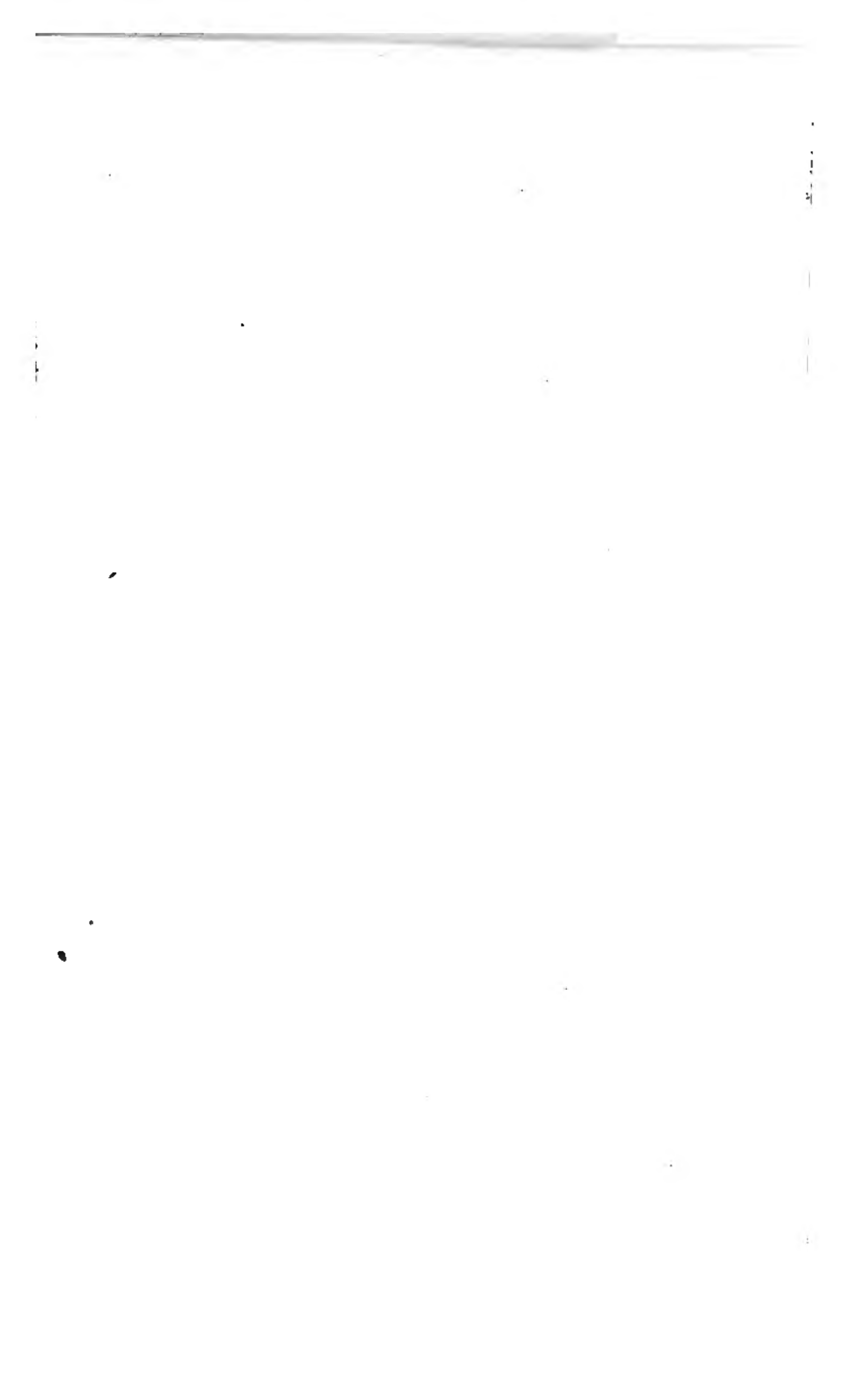
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>















-----

THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

DURING

The First Century

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARREN,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

---

MONUMENTS THEMSELVES MEMORIALS NEED.

---

With Illustrations.

BOSTON:

JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY,

(LATE TICKNOR AND FIELDS, AND FIELDS, OSGOOD, AND COMPANY).

M.DCCC.LXXVII.

IN. U. S. A. CI.

E  
2.  
51  
V.

Copyright secured, January, 1877, in the Office of the Librarian  
of Congress, by

G. WASHINGTON WARREN.

*Cambridge:*  
*Press of John Wilson and Son.*

TO

**The Memory**

OF

DANIEL WEBSTER, EDWARD EVERETT,  
THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS,  
JOHN COLLINS WARREN,  
AND  
WILLIAM TUDOR,

THE PRINCIPAL ORIGINATORS OF THE

**BUNKER HILL MONUMENT,**

OF

HENRY ALEXANDER SCAMMELL DEARBORN,  
AND  
WILLIAM SULLIVAN, THEIR CHIEF CO-ADJUTORS;  
OF  
AMOS LAWRENCE AND JUDAH TOURO,

WHO ADDED THEIR NOBLE DONATIONS TO THE MEANS RAISED BY

**THE WOMEN OF THE COUNTRY**

FOR ITS COMPLETION IN 1840;

ALSO, OF

NATHANIEL POPE RUSSELL, THE FAITHFUL TREASURER,  
AND  
SOLOMON WILLARD, THE DEVOTED ARCHITECT,

**This Humble Memorial**

OF THEIR IMPERISHABLE WORK IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

1877.





## P R E F A C E.

---

THE first present the author remembers ever to have received was one of those handsomely engraved diplomas of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, bearing his name in full, set in a gilt frame, and hung in the parlor, — a paternal gift to a boy of eleven years. Born at the foot of Bunker Hill, and often in childhood having rambled over the battle-field while yet a pasture, he naturally felt a personal interest in the completion of the undertaking of the Association, and, having been early chosen into its directory, he was prompted to labor for it.

He was requested by Mr. Webster to prepare an account of the first two great celebrations on Bunker Hill, to accompany his orations in a proposed republication. This he undertook to do; but, when afterwards Mr. Everett kindly assumed the editorship of all the works of the great Statesman, no other hand was required. Subsequently the author has been frequently requested to prepare a History of the Association, embracing the noteworthy events, and giving a summary of the labors, the difficulties, and the triumphs it has experienced.

When first elected Secretary, he found scarcely any of the original papers on file. By continuous search and inquiries, he has been able to collect, during the last forty years, from the descendants or family friends of the prominent founders, a large mass of scattered material. The newspapers of the period have supplied many details. Some of the matter quoted is of a trivial character, and some of a high order: taken together, it may serve as an index of the times of the former generations, and may help to give a nearer view of the eminent men who figured in them.

Acknowledgments are due to Mr. Ernest Edwards of London, now with J. R. Osgood & Company, the inventor of the heliotyping process, who has found out the way to multiply copies of the photograph in a durable form,—an art superior to the art of printing, as it reproduces the exact text and every form of *fac-simile* illustration.

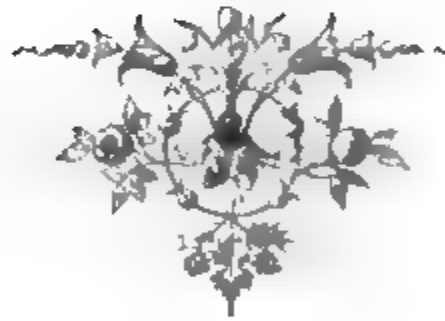
An attempt has been made to prepare a complete Table of Contents of this Volume, so as to supersede the necessity of an Index, by denoting the different topics treated on each page in course. The reader, in consulting it, may see at a glance the order in which the different divisions of the work are set out, and may readily find any particular to which he may wish to advert. The placing of reference notes at the bottom of the

page has been avoided, as it has seemed the better way to incorporate into the text what is intended to be read in connection, so that the attention need not be distracted nor the symmetry of the page be marred. Pains have been taken to present to the public a book, which, at least in its typographical appearance and in all those accessories which attract the eye, shall be worthy of those distinguished characters whose extraordinary labors in building our noblest National Monument have made an historical record thereof desirable.

It was at first intended to append a list of the principal contributors to the Monument, but it was found difficult to fix fairly upon the lowest sum, the donors of which should be distinguished by this honorable mention. The subscription of the prescribed fee of membership was as generous and patriotic an act on the part of some as that of twenty times the amount or more by others; besides, it was promised in the beginning that the names of all those who should give a single dollar would be preserved in perpetual remembrance. It may be at some future time within the means of the Association to print a catalogue of all those who have contributed directly to its funds, a considerable part of which has already been prepared. The names, however, of the original associates, and of all those who have been made members by election, appear in this volume.

It is hoped that this volume may aid in perpetuating the memory of the founders of this Society, to whom the country's gratitude is due. And if it shall further serve to foster and keep ever alive a profound sentiment of nationality, and an abiding love of THE UNION which our Fathers bequeathed to us to transmit to posterity, the author will be happy to have done something towards accomplishing one of the leading objects of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

HOTEL VENDÔME,  
BOSTON, Dec. 25, 1876.



express form.

the whole amount

My Dear

I am glad

that on the next

elect a good &

District a,

hope,

the 1st

Army

him, &

I have

or 20.

more

has

and

in the

Line

Shed

G. Washington to

The Judge you can make  
out the better.

to see there is a prospect  
of trial Your City needs  
they - 2. I hope that  
good Representation

Yours with much regard,

David Webster

Wm. E. J.

# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

**THE BATTLE** of Bunker Hill, 1. The Two Great Events connected with it, 3. Washington Commander-in-Chief, 5. The Rebuilding of Charlestown, 6. The First Celebration of the Anniversary of the Battle, 7. King Solomon's Lodge, 9. Address of John Soley, Jr., 10. Act of Legislature for the Preservation of the Masonic Monument, 12. The Re-interment of the Body of Joseph Warren, and the Exordium of Perez Morton's Eulogy, 13. Warren's Character, and the Effect of his Death, 14.

## CHAPTER II.

**JAMES RUSSELL**, his Ancestry, and his Son, Thomas Russell, 17. The Russell Pasture, and the Visitors to the Battle-field, 20. Commissary Devens and Thomas Miller; President Dwight's Narration, 21. The Survivors of the Revolution who were the Guides to the Battle-field; Isaac Warren, 22. Timothy Thompson and William Calder, 23. Matters to be explained, 24. Dr. John Warren's Diary, 25. Prescott, Putnam, and Stark, 26. Last Words of General Warren; the Englishman's Claim, 28. Why the Battle was fought; Changes, 29. The Centennial Year; Philadelphia and Bunker Hill; Boston the Cradle of the Nation, 30.

## CHAPTER III.

**EXCITEMENT** caused by General Henry Dearborn's Account, 31. Daniel Webster's Review of it, 32. General Sumner's Account of Governor Brooks's Visit to Bunker Hill, 33. Public Attention called to it from this Controversy, by William Tudor; Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, 36. Thomas Handasyd Perkins, 37. John C. Warren, 38.

**First Notice of a Meeting to form the Association, 39. The Agreement to form it, 40. Petition to the Legislature, 42. Act of Incorporation, 44. First Meeting and Officers elected, 45. Additional Members elected, 46. Circular of Committee of Correspondence, 47.**

**CHAPTER IV.**

**GOVERNOR BROOKS, the First President, 49. Nathaniel P. Russell, the Treasurer, 50. William Tudor, the Secretary; and Mr. Webster, acting President; Letter of Caleb Cushing, 52; of Thomas Rotch, and of Daniel Putnam, 53; of Levi Woodbury; Mr. Everett, and Franklin Dexter, as Secretaries, 54. Mr. Russell's Acknowledgment of Money received from the Washington Benevolent Society, 55. Dr. Warren's Letter proposing a Dinner of the Directors, 56. Governor Eustis's Reference to the Proposed Monument in his Message, 57. His Death and Unexecuted Purpose, 58. Dr. Channing's Letter, 59. Professor Silliman's, 60. Judge White's and Samuel L. Knapp's, 61. Willard Peck's and William Crafts', 62. John Wilson's, 63. William Plummer's, 64. Caleb Stark's, 65. Governor Morrill's, 66. Governor Wolcott's; T. W. Storow's, 67. W. C. Somerville's, 68. Governor Pleasant's, of Virginia, and Mr. Osgood's, 69. Mr. Gilmer's, of Baltimore, 70.**

**CHAPTER V.**

**DISCOURAGING Responses counteracted by Encouraging Letter of Frederic Tudor, 71. Letter of Judge Daggett, 72. Letter of L. Trescott and of Ichabod Bartlett, 73; of Robert G. Shaw, and of James Lloyd, 74; of John Lowell, 75; of Dr. Codman; Com. Bainbridge, 76; of Jon. Goodhue, of New York, 77. Old High Rates of Postage; a Letter of John McLean, Postmaster-General, 78. Letter of Ichabod Bartlett, 79. Letter of Abbott Lawrence announcing Arrival of Lafayette, 80. Standing Committee issue an Address drawn up by General William Sullivan, 81. The Address, 82. Copies distributed by General Sullivan's Students, 88. General Sullivan transmits to Dr. Warren Letter of Rufus Dawes, with his Indorsement, 89. Response of Selectmen of Sandisfield and of Dracut, 90; of Manchester, 91. Judge Story's Letter to Mr. Everett, 91. The Judge desires to change Mr. Everett's Opinion, 92.**

**CHAPTER VI.**

**GOVERNOR EUSTIS's Wishes; the Desire of the Association for Legislative Aid, 93. Act to aid the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 94.**



Reason for the Grant of State-prison Labor, and for the Authority to take Land, 97. Letter of Mr. Webster, 98. Purchase of the Land, 99. Correspondence of Mr. Everett with King Solomon's Lodge, 100. Grantors of the Land, and Prices paid, 101. Subscriptions coming in; Certificates of Membership, 102. Letters of Mr. Everett, 103. His Newspaper Article on Small Subscriptions, 105. His Circular in the name of the Directors, 109. General Dearborn's Public Notice, 116. Public Meeting at the Marlborough Hotel, 118. Report of Standing Committee drawn up by Mr. Everett, 119.

## CHAPTER VII.

DANIEL WEBSTER elected to deliver the Anniversary Address in 1825, 123. Committee of Arrangements, and Letter of George Ticknor, 124. Letter from Mr. Webster; Election of Mr. Everett to Congress; Subscription to a Monument in Concord, 125. Letter of Mr. Everett with regard to it; and Letter of Mr. Webster as to the Concord Celebration, and about the Part it was proposed that Lafayette should take, 126. Changes in the Direction after the Death of President Brooks, 128. Letter of Daniel Putnam; Vote of the Directors as to the Public Impression that Lafayette would lay the Corner-stone of the Monument, 129. Mr. Everett's Letter in relation to this and other Matters, 130. Proposed Modes of celebrating the Anniversary; Report of the Committee of Twelve, 131. Report of the Committee on laying the Corner-stone, 135. Conference with Mr. Webster as to its being laid in Masonic Form, 136. New Executive Committee for the Celebration; Corner-stone prepared by Captain Paris, who afterwards officiated as the Masonic Architect, 137. The Proposed and the Actual Inscription on the Plate, 138. Articles deposited with it, 139. Mr. Everett's Letter before going to West Point; he prefers the Column for the Form of the Monument, 140. His Letter to Lafayette, 141. Lafayette's Acquiescence as to the Masonic Ceremony; Bunker Hill his Polar-Star in all his Travels; General Sullivan's Invitation to Military Companies for Escort Duty, 142. Prompt Replies of Several Companies, 143. General Lyman reports the Resolutions of the House of Representatives to walk in the Procession, 144. Attendance of the Revolutionary Soldiers; a Place for Josiah Bowers, 145. The Attendance of the same Chaplain and the Drummer who were in the Battle, and of Great Numbers from the Different States; Charles River Bridge made free for the Day; the Procession, 146. Colonel Samuel Jaques, Chief Marshal; the Masonic Ceremony; Lafayette's Masonic Apron,

147. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Thaxter, 148. Mr. Webster speaks, facing the Sun ; his Oration, 149. The Dinner and the Toasts, 151. Lafayette's Toast; Levees in the Evening; Mr. Webster's Noble Contribution of his Address to the Monument Association, 152.

## CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN C. WARREN, 153. The Resolutions proposed by him and adopted. 154. The Board of Artists, 155. Reward offered for Best Plan, 156. Letter of Solomon Willard declining to join in the Contest for the Premium, 157. Report of the Board awarding the Premium to Horatio Greenough, 158. Communication from him explaining his Model, and his Reasons for adopting the Obelisk, 159. The Report laid upon the Table, and never acted upon, 160. Mr. Greenough and his Model, 161. Stuart, with a Borrowed Pencil, writes " Adopted " upon it; Amos Lawrence, in his last Letter, gives the Credit to Greenough and Baldwin, 162. Letter of G. W. Brimmer, Architect, 163. New Committee appointed to report a Plan and Estimates of a Column, and also of an Obelisk ; their Report recommending the Column, 164. The Vote rejecting it, 167. New Committee appointed to report a Design in the Form of an Obelisk, 168. Mr. Everett's Letter acquiescing in the Decision, and containing a Toast for the Celebration Dinner, 168. General Dearborn's Letter still urging the Column, 169. Letter of Solomon Willard, with Estimates, 171. Honorable Conduct of Dr. Warren; William Austin's Recommendation, 172. Letter of William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace, recommending a Mausoleum, 173. The Plan adopted the best for all time and wholly unobjectionable, 178.

## CHAPTER IX.

LOAMMI BALDWIN, his Father a Friend of Count Rumford, 179; his Classmates; his Anecdote of his own Experience as a Lawyer; he adopts the Profession of a Civil Engineer, 180. His Brothers in same Profession, 181. His Associates on the Committee upon the Obelisk, and his Method in determining the Proper Proportions, 182. His Report in full, adopted by the Board, 183. His Estimates, 188. The Building Committee; Colonel Baldwin's Letter declining to serve, 190. His Second Letter persisting in declining, 191. The Filling of the Vacancy, and the Building Committee made the Standing Committee, 194. Purchase of Sword of General Warren; Depositions of the Revolutionary Soldiers, 195. Failure of the Negotiations with the Town of

Charlestown as to its Purchase of a Right in the Battle-ground; the Training-field, 196. New Street needed; Controversy about Taxes, 197. Vote of Thanks to the Treasurer; his Statement, and the Appropriation of \$25,000, for the Monument, 198.

## CHAPTER X.

SOLOMON WILLARD elected Architect; Dinner at Dr. Warren's, 199. Letter of Daniel P. Parker, 200. Colonel Perkins's Recommendation of Willard, 201. Willard's Training and Ancestry, 201; his Agreement to give his Services for his Expenses merely; his Selection of the Granite for the Monument, 203; his Preparations during the Winter of 1825-26, 204; his Letter announcing he had broken Ground, 205. The Position of the Monument, as intended by the Committee, with reference to the Redoubt; Surveys since made, 206. Work at the Ledge; State Grant, 207. Mr. Willard's Letter, 208. The First Railroad in the United States suggested by the Projectors of the Monument, 209. First Year's Work, 210. Gridley Bryant, 211. Colonel Perkins elected President, on the Resignation of Mr. Webster, 212. Mr. Willard sends in his Resignation; afterwards withdraws it; his Letter to Amos Lawrence, 213. Money obtained by Loans to forward the Monument, on Bank Notes signed by the Committee and on Pledge of the Land, 214. Suspension of the Work; Mr. Willard's Labors in the Mean Time, 215. The Two Succeeding Prosecutions of the Work, 216. Mr. Willard's Judgment in his Choice of Men; the Monument built wholly by Total Abstinence Men; the Real Value of the Monument far above its Actual Cost, 217. Mr. Willard's Death, 218. Memoir by Mr. Wheildon; the Work published by Mr. Willard describing the Monument, and vindicating the Course of the Directors, 219. The Most Impressive Scene in the Life of Willard, 220. His Great Service in its Construction; his Claim to the Regard of Posterity assured, 221.

## CHAPTER XI.

WILLIAM SULLIVAN; his Father; his Classmates; his Brother Richard; his own Position, 223. His Letter to Dr. Warren, 224. Vote of Thanks for his Services; William Tudor elected Director; General Sullivan's Criticism upon a Draft of a Letter proposed to be sent to Bolivar, 225. His Letter to Dr. Warren proposing to close his Agency for the Association, 227. He retracts his Purpose; Effort of the Standing Com-

mittee to obtain New Subscriptions; Letter of Lemuel Shaw, 228; of Thomas Power, 229. Boston had subscribed more than Half of the Whole Amount; Letter of Otis Corbett describing the Situation in Worcester, 230. Condition of Massachusetts and New England at that Time, 231. The Response fully equal to the First Demand, 232. The Lottery Scheme proposed; it had been availed of by Harvard College, was then proposed by General Dearborn as a Means to carry on Internal Improvements; Leave to sell Tickets for City of Washington asked for, 233. J. K. Casey's Scheme; Petition for the Direct Aid of the State preferred instead, 234. Extract from the Address of General Dearborn, 235. Changes in the Board; Governor Levi Lincoln, President; the Building Committee, 237. Effort of the Ladies; Judge William Prescott, President, and other Changes; a New Petition to the Legislature, 238. Resolutions adopted by the Board, 239. Extract from a New Address of Mr. Everett, 240. The Committee to urge another Petition; the Annual Meeting in 1831, 242. The Anti-Masonic Movement, 243. Adjournments to fill Vacancies; the Second Adjournment to Faneuil Hall, 244. By-Laws and Votes adopted, 245. The Annual Meeting in 1832, 246. Ground of the Anti-Masonic Movement, 247. The Part taken by Mr. Paris in laying the Cornerstone, 248. Expense of that Celebration, and the Reason for not inviting Lafayette to perform the Ceremony; the Complaint of having bought too much Land, 250. Dr. Abner Phelps; Mr. Everett's Plea against selling any of the Land, 251. Extract from it, 252. Regret that the Appeal was not responded to; the Unfinished Monument like a Ruin, and as if awaiting the Result of Attempted Nullification, 253.

## CHAPTER XII.

AMOS LAWRENCE's Birth; his Father Samuel, a Minute-man; Groton Academy, 255. The Success of Amos Lawrence; his Partnership with Abbott Lawrence; his Great Philanthropy, 256. His Letter to Dr. Warren, 257. The Reply, 258. He will not bargain with himself, 259. His Letter to Willard, 260. To General Sullivan; he refuses to favor a Lottery; induces his Associates on the Committee to join him in a Loan to aid the Monument, 261. Letter and Proposition to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, 262. Honorable Standing of this Society, 263. Committee of Directors to confer with it as to Officers; the Great Meeting in Faneuil Hall, 264. George Blake, Colonel Greene, and Mr. Everett, 265. He made the Occasion; his Speech, 266. Its Effect; Mr. Lawrence regrets the Opportunity

was not improved, 267. Enlargement of the Board at the Annual Meeting in 1833, 268. Mr. Everett's Letter to Mr. Sullivan as to New Diploma, and to obtaining a Share in the Tolls of the Bridges for the Monument, 269. His Newspaper Article advising the Public to go over the Old Bridge to help on the Monument; General Austin's Objection to a Diversion of the Tolls, 271. Executive Committee, 272. Their Report, 273. Mr. Willard objects to their raising the Estimates; Mr. Darracott compliments Mr. Willard, 275. Mr. Buckingham's Report, 276. Proposed Reduction in the Height of the Monument; Work recommenced; Amount expended; Mr. Buckingham made President; Mr. Watts, Secretary; Celebration in Charlestown; Alexander H. Everett's Oration, 278. Effort of the Young Men, 279. Conditional Sale of the Land; the Square reduced; Depressed Financial State of the Country, 280. Preparations to grade the Land; the Last Effort to save it, 281. Amos Lawrence's Will; General Lyman; Nathan Tufts; Joshua Bates, and A. L. Forrestier, 282. Judah Touro and his Friend R. D. Shepherd, 283. The Monument waiting for Woman's Help to elevate it, 284.

### CHAPTER XIII.

SARAH J. HALE's Effort; Extract from her First Article, 285. The Last of the Band, 287. Mrs. Sigourney's Co-operation; Reply of General Dearborn, Chairman of Committee, to Mrs. Hale's Offer, 288. The Objectors to the Plan, 289. Resolutions of the Directors, 290. The Ladies' Circular, 291. The Result, and Mrs. Hale's View of it, 293. Annual Meetings in 1839 and in 1840; the President's Desponding Report, 294. The Vote passed Authorizing the Fair, 295. The Fair Committee and the Women set to Work, 296. Proposals for completing the Monument called for; the Time appointed for the Fair; the Whig Mass Convention, 297. Opening of the Fair, 298. Regulations, 299. "The Monument" Paper; the Post-office, 300. The Whig Procession; Mr. Webster Declines to propose a Whig Subscription for the Monument; Honor to Judah Touro, 301. Mrs. Paige's Subscription Book; Contract for Completing the Monument; the Building Committee; why a Contract was made, 302. The use of Steam Power in hoisting the Stone; Proposed Change of Plan of the Apex, 303. The Record of the Laying of the Cap-stone, 304. Receipts from the Fair, 305. Expenditures, 306. Thomas Sully's Letter; Payment by Miss Mary Otis, Treasurer; Report of the Fair Committee, 307. Resolutions of the Directors, 309. Treasurer's Abstract of Recent

Donations ; Resolutions of Thanks to Mr. Touro, and providing for an Inscription, 311. Mrs. Hale's Subsequent Efforts for the Annual Observance of a National Thanksgiving, 312. Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis's Influence in Making the 22d of February a State Holiday, 313. The Mission of the Women of the Country, 314.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

**JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM**, President, 315. His and the Secretary's call on Mr. Webster, 316. Committee of Arrangements for the Celebration of June 17, 1843, 317. Entry of the President of the United States into Boston ; the Morning of the 17th, 318 ; the Procession, under General Chandler, 319 ; the Perfect Order during the Day ; Arrangements for the Public Services under James W. Paige, Chief-Marshal, 320. The Prayer ; Mr. Webster presented to the Audience : the Occasion fully equal to that of 1825 ; his Oration, 321. The Echo "over the Globe ;" Dr. Warren's opinion, 322. Return of the Procession ; the New Procession to the Dinner in Faneuil Hall ; the first Toast and Hymn, 323. Other Toasts ; the Toast of the President of the United States ; Toast in Honor of Mr. Webster, 324. His Reply ; Toast to South Carolina and Massachusetts, 325. Mr. Bancroft's Speech and Toast in Honor of Virginia, 326. Mr. Upshur's Response, 327. Mr. Wickliffe's Reference to the Old South, 328. Caleb Cushing's Sentiments ; Toast to Mr. Everett, and his Letter, 329. Amos and Judah, 330. Concluding Sentiments ; Levee in the Evening, 331. Changes near Monument Square ; the two Historical Paintings, 332. Death of H. S. Legaré, 333. Death of Captain Cleveland, 334. Mr. Grattan's Letter, 335. The Masonic Celebration, 336. Address of John Soley, 337. Grand Master Peabody ; Extract of Mr. Warren's Address on the Part of King Solomon's Lodge, 338. Doings of the Building Committee and their Report, 340. Improvements of the Square ; Mr. Warren elected President, and Joseph H. Buckingham Secretary, 342. Resolutions of the Association ; Celebration by the City of Charlestown ; Presentation of General Putnam's Sword, 343. Death of N. P. Russell, Treasurer, and Election of Samuel H. Russell ; Committee for the Celebration of the 75th Anniversary, 344. Mr. Everett the Orator ; the Use of a Ship-house in the Navy Yard obtained, Colonel I. H. Wright Chief Marshal, 345. The Governor orders out the Cadets ; the Procession ; the Appearance of the Ship-house, 346. Mr. Ever-

ett's Oration, 347. The Dinner, 348. The Toasts of Mr. Webster and Mr. Winthrop; Colonel Perkins's Subscription of \$1,000 for a Monument to General Warren, 349. A Statue determined upon; the Committee; the Sculptor; Arrangements for the Inauguration of the Statue, 350. The Inauguration Services; Death of Colonel Perkins, 351. The Example he set; the Published Account of this Celebration; the Theme on Bunker Hill, 352.

## CHAPTER XV.

VISIT of the PRINCE OF WALES to Bunker Hill; the Invitation and Reception, 353. His Visit to the Historical Society; President Winthrop shows him the Crossed Swords; the Attentions of Mayor Lincoln; the Letter to the Prince, accompanying the Memento of his Visit, 355. Letter of the Duke of Newcastle, 356. Of General Bruce, 357. Second Letter, 358. The Queen and the People of England favored the Cause of the United States; the Error of the Seceding States, 359. The Reason for the Displaying of the Flag from the Top of the Monument, 360. Services of that Ceremony; Extract from the President's Address to the Governor, 361. From Governor Andrew's Reply, 362. The Enthusiasm of the Assembly, 363. Colonel Fletcher Webster's Remarks; his Heroic Death, 364. Names of others connected with the Association, or its Founders, who died in the Civil War; the Efforts of the Association; President's Remarks in 1862; Mr. Winthrop indorses them, 365. The Faith in the Ultimate Issue, as shown in the Prosecution of Public Works and by Congress; the Committee on the Beacon Hill Monument, 366. The Act authorizing the Association to rebuild it, 367. The Last Display of the Flag from the Mast above the Monument; a Liberty Pole erected on the Square; its Removal, 368. Arrangements for the Centennial Anniversary; Choice of Orator; the Union of Charlestown and Boston; Appropriation of the City Council; Petition that the 17th of June be declared a Legal Holiday, 369. Its Result; the Two Publications in relation to the Celebration; the Procession, 370. Services in the Pavilion; the Oration, 371. The Encomium upon it by the late Vice-President Wilson; Concluding Services; the Grand Lodge of Masons, and the Masonic Aprons of General Warren and Lafayette; the Contrast between 1875 and 1825, 372. The Prophecy of Lafayette's Toast; the Unexpected Abolition of Slavery, and its Glorious Result, 373.

## CHAPTER XVI.

**THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT** a Type of the National Unity ; Mr. Webster's Patriotism, 375. The Committee on Inscriptions ; the Vacancies in it filled, 376. Drafts of Inscriptions by Francis C. Gray and George Ticknor, 377. Letter of Mr. Gray, 378. Draft by Franklin Dexter, 379. Report of Mr. Everett to the Committee, 380. The Inscriptions recommended by him, 381. Meeting of the Committee ; Mr. Webster's Suggestion, 384. Report of the Committee, and the Result, 385. The Proposed Granite Lodge ; Plan of George M. Dexter and of W. S. Park ; Repairs and Expenditures by Sub-Committee ; George Peabody's Donation, 386. History of the Revolutionary Cannon, the Hancock and Adams, 387. The Streets to the Monument, 389. The Proposed New Avenue and Statue of Governor Winthrop, 390. Present Valuation of the Land sold by the Association, and of the Buildings thereon, 391. The New Secretaries, S. F. McCleary and A. C. Fearing, Jr. ; the New Diploma, 392. The Roll of Officers ; Mr. Everett ; the Russells ; Mr. Tudor ; General Dearborn ; Mr. Winthrop, 393. Uriel Crocker ; T. R. Marvin ; Honorary Members ; Annual Meeting in 1875, 394 ; Mr. Frothingham elected President ; Vote of Thanks to the Retiring President ; Committee on a Statue of Colonel Prescott ; other Work to be done, 395. The Great Pendulum Experiment of Foucault, made at the Monument in 1850, 396. A New Phenomenon discovered by Professor Horsford, and his Account of it, 399. Bunker Hill the Place to show that the Earth moves, 401.

---

**THE MONUMENTAL DEDICATION . . . . . 402**

---

## MEMORABILIA.

## IN MEMORIAM.

**RESOLUTIONS** upon the Death of N. P. Russell and of Daniel Webster, 405. Delegation to attend Mr. Webster's Funeral ; Notices of the Death of Amos Lawrence and Robert G. Shaw, 406 ; of Thomas B. Wales, David Francis, Judah Touro, and Mr. Everett's Letter upon the Death of Dr. John C. Warren, 407. Resolution upon the same



and upon the Death of Abbott Lawrence, of David Devens, and of Franklin Dexter, 409. Resolution upon the Death of George W. Otis; Notices of Benjamin Loring and James Clark, 410. Enumeration of the Notices and Resolutions published in the "Proceedings," 411. Winslow Lewis and Thomas Aspinwall, 412.

## ROLL OF OFFICERS.

PRESIDENTS and Vice-Presidents, 413. Secretaries, 414. Treasurers, Standing Committee, and Vice-Presidents *ex officio*, 415. Directors, 416. Anniversary Celebrations, 419. Chaplains at Annual Meetings, 420. Honorary Members, 421. Associate Members, 423. Subscribers to the Statue of General Warren, 427.

# ILLUSTRATIONS.

## Engravings.

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
JOSEPH WARREN . . . . .	<i>Facing 1</i>
DANIEL WEBSTER . . . . .	„ 31
THOMAS H. PERKINS . . . . .	„ 49
EDWARD EVERETT . . . . .	„ 71
JOHN COLLINS WARREN . . . . .	„ 153
THE OBELISK UPON A PLATFORM . . . . .	„ 179
AMOS LAWRENCE . . . . .	„ 255
ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP . . . . .	„ 353
URIEL CROCKER . . . . .	„ 394
EDWARD EVERETT, AS HE APPEARED IN DELIVERING THE ADDRESS ON WASHINGTON . . . . .	„ 405

## Heliotypes.

LETTER OF DANIEL WEBSTER . . . . .	<i>Facing viii</i>
MASONIC MONUMENT, AND NEW INSCRIPTION . . . . .	„ 17
LETTER OF JOHN MARSHALL AND SUPERScription . . . . .	„ 78
„ „ THOMAS JEFFERSON . . . . .	„ 93
THE FIRST DIPLOMA . . . . .	„ 102
LETTER OF LAFAYETTE . . . . .	„ 123
MODEL BY HORATIO GREENOUGH . . . . .	„ 162
SECTION OF MONUMENT, WITH MEASUREMENTS AND STAGES OF PROGRESS . . . . .	„ 199
NATHANIEL POPE RUSSELL . . . . .	„ 223
SARAH JOSEPHA HALE . . . . .	„ 285
TABLES AT THE LADIES' FAIR. . . . .	„ 298
MR. RUSSELL'S LETTER TO AMOS LAWRENCE . . . . .	„ 311
DANIEL WEBSTER (from Pope's Historical Painting) . . . . .	„ 315
LETTER OF EDWARD EVERETT . . . . .	„ 350
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT AND SQUARE . . . . .	„ 375
MR. WEBSTER'S DRAFT OF VOTES WITH MR. EVER- ETT'S INDORSEMENT . . . . .	„ 385
LETTER OF JAMES MADISON . . . . .	<i>Following 422</i>
„ „ JAMES MONROE . . . . .	„ „
„ „ WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE . . . . .	„ „
„ „ JAMES KENT . . . . .	„ „
„ „ ROBERT Y. HAYNE . . . . .	„ „
„ „ HENRY CLAY . . . . .	„ „





Josephine Wamers

THE  
GREAT  
BRITAIN

THE  
GREAT  
BRITAIN

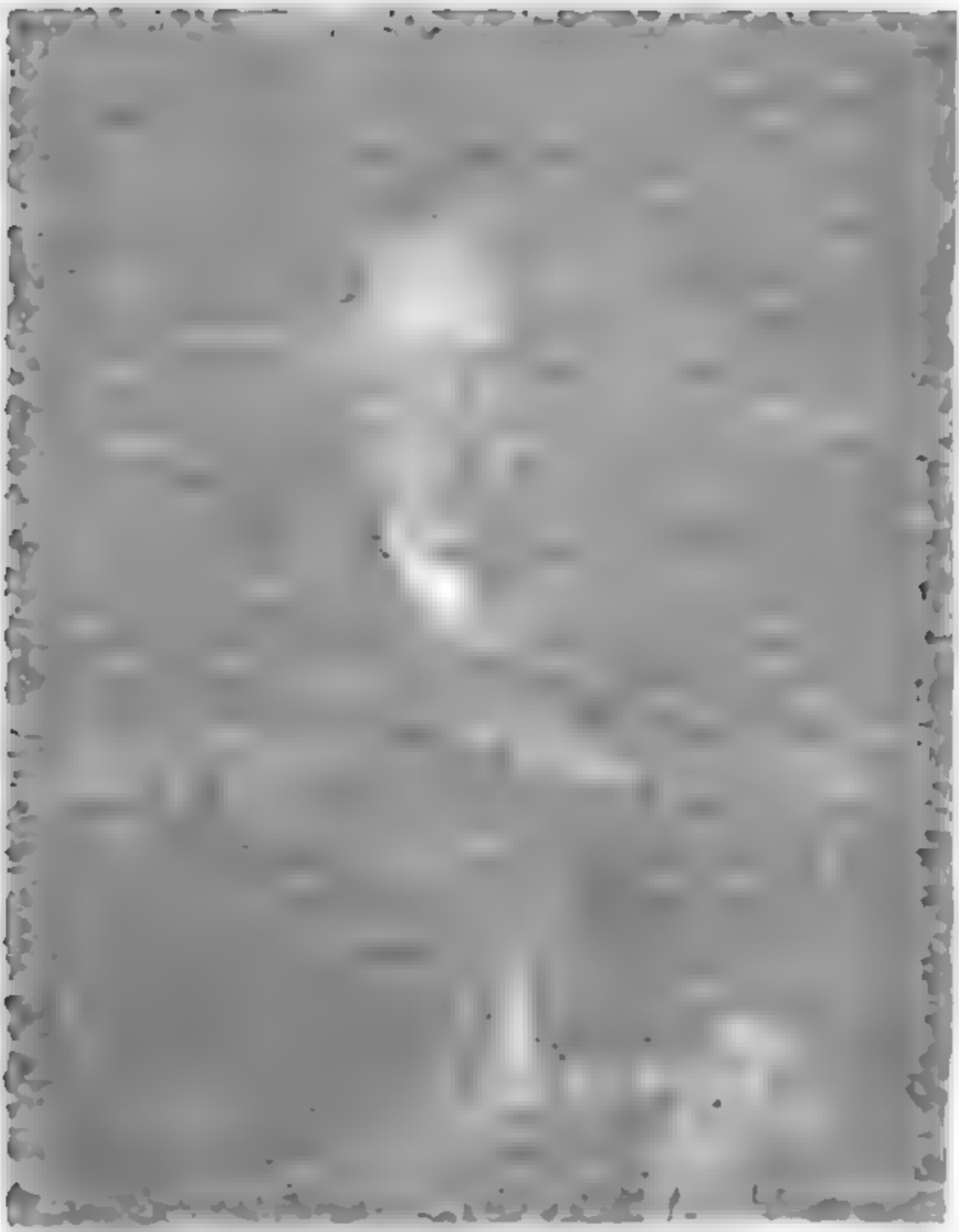
THE  
GREAT  
BRITAIN

THE  
GREAT  
BRITAIN

THE  
GREAT  
BRITAIN

growth and  
the states of  
the first  
the first  
the first  
the first

On the  
the  
the British com-  
provided by the  
the uprising of  
the and of the surround-  
minute-men and patriots  
and grand age  
the news of the success



*Ed. Hamer*



# HISTORY

## OF THE

### BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

---

#### CHAPTER I.

“Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.”

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, on the seventeenth of June, 1775, is one of those rare and signal events whose historic importance is constantly enhanced by the lapse of time and by the growth and spread of our country. As the United States of America advances in the scale of nations, the first great conflict in the American Revolution assumes a grandeur proportioned to its magnificent results. The resistance in Lexington and Concord, on the preceding 19th of April, to the incursion of the military forces sent from Boston by the British commander to seize the military stores provided by the provincial authorities, was a simultaneous uprising of the inhabitants of those places and of the surrounding towns, started by the minute-men and patriots who were on the alert to watch and guard against the suspected movement. The news of the successful

repulse was transmitted by fleet and willing messengers to all the British Colonies in North America.

Then it was felt that the crisis had surely come. War had been levied near the capital of Massachusetts against the ill-advised representatives of the mother country, who were determined to enforce unconstitutional laws, and all the Colonies would now make common cause for home rule, or at least for a representation in the parent government. Putnam left the plough in the furrow, and came quickly with a regiment from Connecticut. Stark and Reed marched as quickly their forces from New Hampshire. A camp was formed at Cambridge, on the very heels of the British army. Harvard College, even then venerable, — for the dear old mother had passed more than a third of her second century, — gave up her seat of learning for military quarters to the patriot army.

The civil authority of the people was, by general consent, vested in the Provincial Congress then convened at Watertown, composed of delegates duly elected at legal meetings of the inhabitants of the several towns. The Continental Congress was similarly constituted by delegates elected from the thirteen Colonies, and was at this very time in session at Philadelphia. Joseph Warren was President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and being also chairman of the Committee of Safety, he exercised, to a considerable extent, the powers of a civil ruler. He was active and vigilant in the public service. He aided in the routing of the British forces on the 19th



of April, and, in the carrying out of the order to fortify Bunker Hill, was promptly on the ground to render his advice and assistance for its defence.

This world-renowned battle has been graphically illustrated by historians, orators, and poets. Other famous writers have composed most interesting monographs upon it. Many controversies have unhappily arisen with regard to its details, and the subsequent distribution of honors among its heroic actors has given rise to some acrimonious disputes. The actors themselves in this memorable scene were little conscious of the noble history they were making, and of the serious questions which would arise in after-times as to some of the incidents of that eventful day; yet it appears that pains were taken by the Provincial Congress, immediately after, to make a true and sufficient record as to all the points which it was then supposed would become a matter of controversy.

Aside from the remarkable bravery of the men on both sides, the coolness and self-possession of the commanding officers in their several assigned posts, and the unequal slaughter inflicted upon the enemy, there were two events which marked this memorable day with sad and tragic interest. One was the conflagration of Charlestown. That ancient town, — the slow and solid growth of almost a century and a half, — where, on the Seventeenth of June as then (1630) reckoned by the old style, Governor John Winthrop and his associates sat down to locate the seat of government, and where Harvard died, was

reduced to ashes. The church, with its commanding spire, the court-house, four other public buildings, and at least four hundred dwelling-houses, some of which were elegant and costly, and about two hundred stores, warehouses, and shops, with their contents, were all destroyed! The fast-spreading flames, the clouds of smoke, and the alarms and shrieks of the homeless, added to the terrors of the bloody scene.

But the still more conspicuous event, and one most significant in its results, was the death of Joseph Warren on the field of battle. A graduate of Harvard College at the age of nineteen in 1759, a physician of high renown, a man of culture and social distinction, the civil leader just elected a major-general, he fell a glorious volunteer when he might have taken the command.

While these great events were transpiring, unknown to the Continental Congress then sitting at Philadelphia, in those times about a seven-days journey from Boston, GEORGE WASHINGTON was, in the name of the "United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina," appointed "General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their services, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile

invasion thereof." The commission bears date June 19, 1775, and is signed by John Hancock, President, "by order of the Congress," and by Charles Thomson, Secretary.

This act, the authority of which was generally recognized, was an official assumption by the Congress, on the part of these United Colonies, — in which Georgia was subsequently included, — of the military defence of the newly formed nation. The Congress, as if by Divine intimation, was led unanimously to the choice of the man who was to guide, protect, defend, and eventually to preside over the destinies of this nation, until its establishment should everywhere be acknowledged.

General Washington made haste to reach the scene of the opening strife, and on the 3d of July following, he took command of the army at Cambridge. When, in answer to his inquiries, he was informed of the bravery and coolness displayed by the Americans in the battle of Bunker Hill, he took courage, and declared that our liberties were safe. In nine months from the day of Bunker Hill, — on the 17th of March, 1776, — the deliverance of Massachusetts was accomplished by the evacuation of Boston by the British troops. During these nine months, they were beleaguered and hemmed in by the American forces, — dignified by and actually deserving the name of the American army, — and were cut off from all supplies.

The battle-field and the territory of the peninsula of Charlestown had until then been occupied by the

British forces. As soon as they put to sea, the inhabitants of Charlestown came back to find where their homes were, and to rebuild the waste places. Timothy Dwight, in his "Travels in New England and New York," has commented with considerable severity upon their neglect to improve the fine opportunity they had, to lay out the town in regular streets and squares; the land-owners putting their land into common stock for this purpose, and then each taking an equal quantity near his former position upon the new location. Had this been done, no town or city in the world could have presented so fine an appearance, so beautiful and well adapted for elegant residences are the natural advantages of the place. But if any people could be excused for that singular want of forecast in not laying out the township anew, with reference to a greater convenience and utility, the inhabitants of Charlestown, returning to the places of their homes after a most disastrous conflagration, deserve the extenuation. During the war of the Revolution, with their crippled means, and in the absence of proper legislative authority, they could hardly do otherwise than allow each proprietor to improve his own land, without interfering with his ancient boundaries.

But the people of Charlestown showed they were conspicuous for enterprise. In nine years after their return, they conceived the design of erecting a bridge between Charlestown and Boston over the mouth of Charles River. The act of the General Court of

Massachusetts, passed on the 9th of March, 1785, reciting in the preamble that "the erecting of a bridge over Charles River, in the place where the ferry between Boston and Charlestown is now kept, will be of great public utility," authorizes John Hancock, Thomas Russell, Nathaniel Gorham, James Swan, and Eben Parsons, with their associates, to become a corporation to build and maintain such a bridge. The accomplishment of this work was the wonder of the times: it was a bridge over what was then called an arm of the sea, longer than either of the London bridges, and supported by piers when it was asserted that in the swiftly flowing currents of the stream the undertaking would be impracticable.

The completion of this wonderful structure was celebrated on the 17th of June, 1786, — the first celebration of this anniversary.

An imposing procession was formed at the old State House, in State Street, under the escort of the Charlestown Artillery, commanded by Major William Calder, a survivor of the battle, led off by one hundred and twenty "artificers" who had been employed on the bridge, carrying their different tools. Then followed in order the officers and proprietors of the Bridge Corporation; the Sheriffs of Middlesex and Suffolk; His Excellency James Bowdoin, the Governor; His Honor Thomas Cushing, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Council of the Commonwealth; the Senate, with its President; the Speaker and House of Representatives; the Treasurer and Secretary of State; the Consuls of France and Holland; the Judges of

the Supreme Judicial Court; the Attorney-General; Naval and Excise officers; the clergy; the Professors and Tutors of the University; the Selectmen of Boston and of Charlestown; the Commander of Castle William, and officers of the late Continental Army; the President and Directors of the Massachusetts Bank, the only bank then established; and a large number of private gentlemen, foreigners and citizens, with a body of civil officers closing the ranks.

As this dignified procession moved along in joyous state, it was greeted by thousands along the streets. On approaching the centre of the bridge, the artificers opened to the right and left. The President of the Bridge Corporation advanced, and gave the order to the master workman to adjust the draw for the passage of the company over the marvellous structure. This ceremony was accompanied by a discharge of thirteen cannon from Copp's Hill, and then the procession moved on amid the loudest shouts of an immense multitude. The estimate, at the time, of the whole number of those who gazed upon the proceedings, places it at twenty thousand persons.

On reaching Bunker Hill, there was another salute of thirteen guns,—corresponding to the number of States of the Union,—and the distinguished company, numbering from eight hundred to a thousand, sat down to the tables. Among the *thirteen* regular toasts which were drunk after the dinner were: “The United States,”—there was then no President,—“The Governor and Commonwealth,” “The Allies of America,” “This Anniversary,—may it be for ever

marked with joy, as its birth was with glory," "The junction of the two towns;" and the last, the thirteenth, was, "All mankind, — may peace, harmony, and happiness reward and unite all the branches of the mighty family." So terminated, on this field of terrific slaughter, the first great celebration of this memorable day, which, after the short period of eleven years, was fixed upon to commemorate the completion of a great undertaking auspicious of future prosperity. Nor since has the day been permitted to pass without some observance of a local or a more general nature.

A few years later, in 1794, King Solomon's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, in Charlestown, erected a monument to the memory of General Joseph Warren and his associates, on the spot where he was slain. It was a most graceful and patriotic act on the part of the Lodge, in honor of the illustrious man who was, at the time of his death, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts, and united high Masonic character and renown to his devotion to principle and his soul-stirring patriotism. James Russell, a venerable citizen and magistrate, offered a deed of as much land as might be wanted, and a committee of the Lodge, of which Josiah Bartlett was chairman, erected in "Mr. Russell's *pasture*" (as their report says) a costly monument, in the form of a Tuscan pillar, eighteen feet high, placed upon a platform eight feet high and eight feet square, and surmounted by a gilt urn, bearing the initials and age of Warren: "J. W. Æ. 34."

The following appropriate inscriptions were placed upon the base: —

Erected A. D. 1794, by King Solomon's Lodge of Freemasons, constituted at Charlestown, 1783, in memory of Major General Warren and his Associates, who were slain on this memorable spot, June 17, 1775.

“ None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of Liberty are worthy to enjoy her. In vain we toiled; in vain we fought; we bled in vain, if you our offspring want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders! ”

Charlestown Settled 1628; Burnt 1775; Rebuilt 1776. The enclosed land given by Hon. James Russell.

The dedication of this Monument, December, 1794, was a touching spectacle. A procession was formed at Warren Hall, where the Lodge then met, consisting of the Lodge and other Masonic brethren, the Selectmen of the town, the magistrates of the counties of Middlesex and Suffolk, the minister and deacons, other town and parish officers, military officers, and citizens, and closing up with the trustees and the scholars of the public schools. It was preceded by a band of music, and marched with slow step to the notes of a dirge, to the place where the monument was erected. There the following concise and appropriate address was delivered by John Soley, Jr., the Worshipful Master of the Lodge: —

FELLOW-CITIZENS AND BRETHREN :

We have now assembled, around the graves of our departed countrymen, to pay that tribute which is due to the brave defenders of our liberties. Nations in all ages have endeavored



to perpetuate the brilliant actions of their heroes; thereby to inspire the living with a spirit of emulation, and to discharge the obligations they owe to those deeds of valor by which their rights are secured.

We, citizens of Columbia, not content with having raised a monument of gratitude in our hearts, would present one to the eye of future generations. Directed by these laudable motives, King Solomon's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons have erected on Mount Warren the Pillar you behold; and in their behalf I now solemnly dedicate it to the memory of our late beloved and Most Worshipful Brother, the Honorable Joseph Warren, and his associates, who nobly fell on this memorable spot, in the cause of their country.

And when, from this celebrated eminence, you behold the solemn temple, the abodes of domestic happiness, the ancient seat of literature, the vestiges of opposition to tyranny, the fruitful fields of the husbandman, and the waving flag of commerce, — forget not those by whose virtuous exertions you now enjoy these inestimable blessings.

And, while they bloom afresh in your own remembrance, convey the history of this noble purchase to your listening children. Teach them obedience to the voice of their country; inform them that their birth-right is Freedom; and, pointing to this Monument, tell them, the legacy left them by their countrymen to maintain it is valor. Having thus inspired them with their bravery to defend their country in the field, may they descend from the tumult of war to the tranquillity of peace, and learn the noblest conquest, — of themselves.

And, O thou ever-existing and omnipresent Architect, approve this solemn dedication to the memory of Columbia's valiant sons; accelerate the extension of their honest fame, and perpetuate its being in the bosom of posterity. May this public evidence of their valor teach others the danger of invading the peaceful abodes of freemen; and may it have a tendency to lessen that lawless ambition for conquest which has filled the world with blood.

The flags were placed at half-mast, and minute-guns were fired by the Charlestown artillery. After the ceremonies on the hill, the procession returned in the same order to Warren Hall, where Josiah Bartlett, who was afterwards Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, pronounced an eloquent eulogy on General Warren, and a solemn dirge or requiem was sung. The General Court afterwards recognized the noble tribute of King Solomon's Lodge by the following Act, passed February 3, 1796:—

*An Act for the Preservation of a Monument erected on the Heights of CHARLESTOWN.*

WHEREAS, the Society of Freemasons, in *Charlestown*, in the county of *Middlesex*, designated by the name of *King Solomon's Lodge*, have erected a Monument in memory of Major General *Joseph Warren* and his associates, who were slain on the heights of said *Charlestown*, on the seventeenth of *June*, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five; and have been presented by the Hon. *James Russell* with a piece of land for that purpose :

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same*, That any legal deed or conveyance of the said land, duly recorded, shall enable the said *King Solomon's Lodge* of Freemasons to hold the same in fee-simple, for the purposes aforesaid, for ever.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the Master or Treasurer of the said Lodge for the time being shall have power and authority to sue for and recover damages, in any court of law suitable to try the same, from any person or persons who shall be convicted of defacing, injuring, or destroying the said Monument; and the person or persons thus convicted shall, in addition to such damages as may be legally awarded, pay to the Master or Treasurer

of the said Lodge a fine not exceeding *twenty dollars*, nor less than *two dollars*, at the discretion of the court before whom the action for damages shall be finally tried; which fines shall be appropriated for the necessary repairs of the said Monument.

Soon after the great Evacuation-day of Boston, the 17th of March, 1776, the body of General Warren was found, having been identified by Dr. Jeffries, by the loss of a joint of one finger by a felon, and also by a peculiar tooth, a part of which had been broken off in early life. The body was reinterred, with solemn ceremonies, at King's Chapel in Boston, April 8, 1776. Perez Morton delivered the eulogy. As in the following exordium he solemnly addressed the remains of the departed spirit, the effect upon the crowded audience was indeed startling:—

ILLUSTRIOUS RELICS:

What tidings from the grave? Why hast thou left the peaceful mansions of the tomb to visit again this troubled earth? Art thou the welcome messenger of peace? Art thou risen again to exhibit thy glorious wounds, and through them proclaim salvation to thy country? Or art thou come to demand that last debt of humanity, to which your rank and merit have so justly entitled you, but which has been so long and ungenerously withheld? Art thou angry at the barbarous usage? Be appeased, sweet Ghost! For though thy body has long laid undistinguished among the vulgar dead, scarce privileged with earth enough to hide it from the birds of prey; though not a kindred tear was dropped, though not a friendly sigh was uttered o'er thy grave; and tho' the execrations of an impious foe were all thy funeral knells, yet, matchless Patriot, thy memory has been embalmed in the affections of thy grateful countrymen, who, in their breasts, have raised eternal monuments to thy bravery!

Not only were the name and fame of Warren justly celebrated at the place of his birth and death, but all over the globe where liberty was loved and heroism revered did they become the subject of eulogy. Botta, the elegant Italian historian, in his history of the American war, thus speaks of him, in the faithful translation of Otis: —

“ He was one of those men who are more attached to liberty than to existence ; but not more ardently the friend of freedom than foe to avarice and ambition. He was endowed with a solid judgment, a happy genius, and a brilliant eloquence. In all private affairs, his opinion was reputed authority ; and in all public counsels, a decision. Friends and enemies, equally knowing his fidelity and rectitude in all things, reposed in him a confidence without limits. Opposed to the wicked, without hatred ; propitious to the good, without adulation ; affable, courteous, and humane towards each, he was beloved with reverence by all, and respected by envy itself. Though in his person somewhat spare, his figure was peculiarly agreeable. He mourned at this epoch the recent loss of a wife, by whom he was tenderly beloved, and whom he cherished with reciprocal affection. In dying so gloriously for his country on this memorable day, he left several orphans, still in childhood ; but a grateful country assumed the care of their education. Thus was lost to his State, and to his family, in so important a crisis, and in the vigor of his days, a man equally qualified to excel in council or in the field.”

The exalted praise universally extended to Joseph Warren was not on account of any merit of his in the conduct of the battle of Bunker Hill. Though some writers took it for granted that, being Major-General and the highest officer in rank in the field, he, of course, assumed the command, yet it is generally

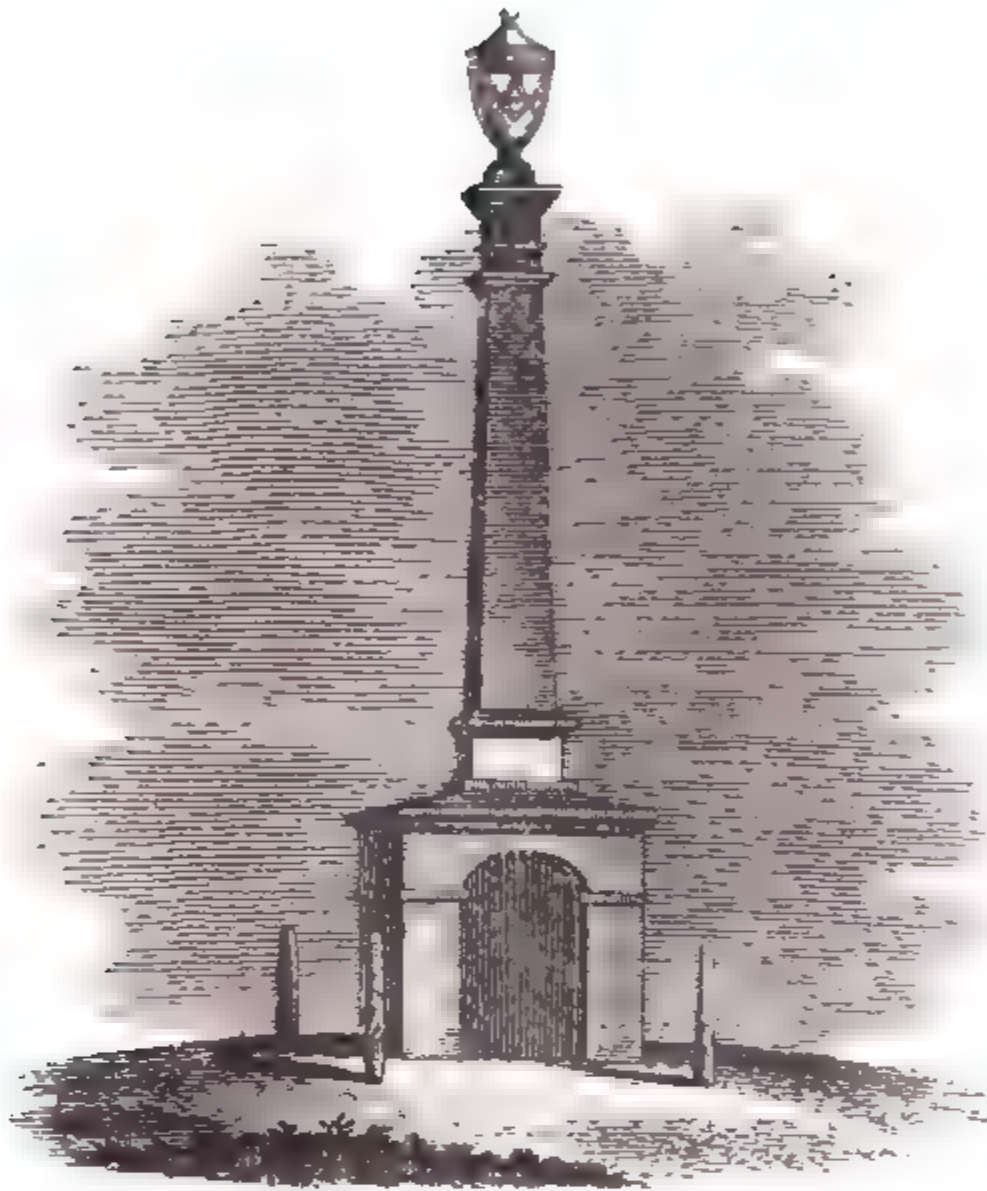
known that, when the command was tendered to him by Colonel William Prescott, he courteously replied to him that he came to learn the art of war of a veteran soldier. It was rather for his unflinching service and devotion to the cause of liberty, as shown in his whole career,—as orator of the public assembly, as a civil leader in the council of state, as a copatriot with Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy. Though, as is supposed, he did not concur in the order of the council to fortify Bunker Hill at that time, nevertheless, after the measure was determined upon, he was all the more eager, by his personal presence and aid, to promote its successful execution. When, the night before, his friend Elbridge Gerry, afterwards Vice-President of the United States, entreated him not to risk his life in that attempt, he replied in that well known motto, henceforth for ever associated with his memory: “*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*” (SWEET AND GRACEFUL IT IS TO DIE FOR ONE’S COUNTRY). He seemed to have a presentiment that he was to die for a country which even then existed in his contemplation,—embracing all the United Colonies, a correspondence with whom he had promoted,—and which was destined to become one of the grandest and most powerful nations of the earth.

But, whatever his thought might have been, certain it now is, as we trace the signal events of the century to their leading causes, that, while the ruthless and unjustifiable act of General Gage, of burning Charlestown to the ground, set the hearts of the people

against all further efforts of reconciliation with the demented government of the mother country, the martyrdom of Joseph Warren hallowed the cause in behalf of which the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, and inflamed the hearts of all American patriots with an enthusiastic and a determined purpose to prosecute it to the end, until the INDEPENDENCE of the united Colonies should be achieved.







#### ORIGINAL INSCRIPTION.

"Erected A. D. MDCCXCIV, by King Solomon's Lodge of Freemasons, constituted at Charlestown, 1783, in memory of Major General JOSEPH WARREN and his Associates, who were slain on this memorable spot, June 17, 1775.

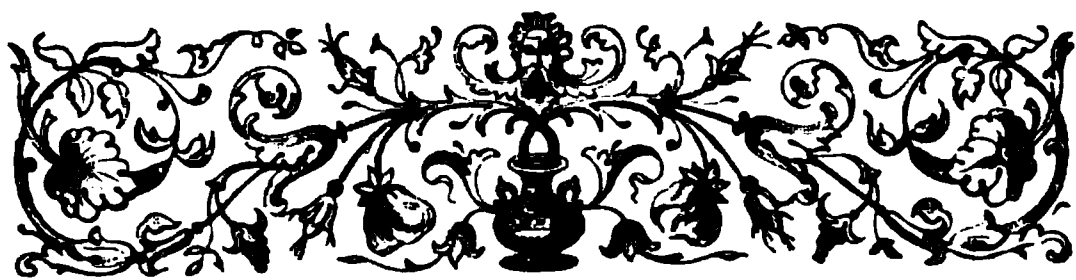
'None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of Liberty are worthy to enjoy her.  
In vain we toiled; in vain we fought; we bled in vain, if you, our offspring, want  
valor to repel the assaults of her invaders!'

Charlestown Settled 1628; Burnt 1775; Rebuilt 1776. The enclosed land given by Hon. James Russell."

#### NEW INSCRIPTION.

"This is an exact model of the first monument erected on Bunker-Hill, which, with the land on which it stood, was given, A. D. 1826, by King Solomon's Lodge, of this town, to the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, that they might erect upon its site a more imposing structure. The Association, in fulfilment of a pledge at that time given, have allowed in their imperishable obelisk, this model to be inserted, with appropriate ceremonies, by King Solomon's Lodge, June 24th, A. D. 1845."





## CHAPTER II.

*Hic cunabula gentis.*

**J**AMES RUSSELL, the generous donor of the land upon which the Masonic Monument was erected, was born in Charlestown, August 5, 1715, and died there on the 24th April, 1798. His life almost spanned the whole of the eighteenth century, and was longer than that of any of his distinguished ancestors in this country. He was the descendant, in the fourth generation, from the Hon. Richard Russell, who, at the age of twenty-nine, in the year 1640, came from Herefordshire, England, and settled in Charlestown, and died in 1676, having filled the offices of Representative to the General Court, Counsellor, and Treasurer of the Province, and having made many noble donations and bequests to various public objects.

The grandfather of James Russell, the Honorable James Russell, the eldest son of Richard Russell, was born in Charlestown, October 4, 1640, and died there at the age of sixty-nine, April 28, 1709, having succeeded his father in his business as a merchant, and also in the public offices which he held. The father of James Russell, our illustrious donor, was

the Hon. Daniel Russell, who was born in Charlestown, November 30, 1685, and died December 6, 1763, at the age of seventy-eight, having been a member of his Majesty's Council for twenty years, and having also served the Province as Commissioner of Impost, and the County of Middlesex as Treasurer, for over fifty years.

This is rather a remarkable instance of four generations of the same family living in the same town, and succeeding to the same high offices of town, county, and province, for more than a century and a half, and all bearing the highest character for integrity, fidelity to duty, and for private as well as for official worth.

James Russell, the first above-named, married, April 13, 1738, Catharine Greaves, great-granddaughter of the celebrated pioneer, Thomas Greaves, who was born in Ratcliff, England, June 6, 1605, and who arrived at Salem in 1629, with Governor Endicott, and thence removed to Charlestown in that year. He laid out the town, giving it, as it is said, the name, and became one of the chief men of the place. One of their sons was the celebrated Thomas Russell, who was born in Charlestown, April 17, 1740, and became one of the most eminent merchants of the time in the United States. He also represented his native town in the General Court. On his removal to Boston, he became president of several of the leading corporations and societies, and, among others, of the Branch Bank of the United States. It was owing to his father's faith in the practicability of building a bridge

over Charles River, persistently asserted against all objectors, that he was induced to embark in the enterprise, which, by his influence, was speedily accomplished. He was a leading man in all the great undertakings and public charities of the place, and was distinguished for his refined manners and generous hospitality. He had determined to return to his native town to spend the evening of his days, where his ancestors on both his father's and mother's side had resided since its first settlement, and he was, indeed, erecting an elegant mansion for his future residence, when untimely death overtook him, at the age of fifty-six, on April 8, 1796. Such was the general grief over the great public loss, that, by request of the many societies to which he belonged and imparted the life-giving vigor of his intellect and wealth, a eulogy was pronounced by Dr. John Warren, a brother of Joseph Warren, in King's Chapel, May 4, 1796, on his life and character.

It was the unhappy lot of James Russell to bury, during his protracted life, three other sons and two daughters. He left, at his decease, one son and four daughters surviving. He was ever singularly attached to his native town, by whose inhabitants he was revered and loved as a father. In many cases he subordinated his own family interests to that of the town. Jedediah Morse, D.D., in his funeral sermon, commends, with pastoral affection, "his integrity, piety, charity, and patriotism, his hospitality, sobriety, and temperance, and the parental and social virtues which exalted and adorned his character."

It is believed that there are no descendants of James Russell in the male line, and bearing the family name, now living. There are, however, several descendants in the female line, bearing distinguished names, which they themselves have honored, some of whom will appear as prominent actors in this history. The blood of this great progenitor still flows in the current of human life, in which his excellent traits and qualities, we may believe, have been transmitted. John Soley, who dedicated the Masonic Monument, and was afterwards Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, married a granddaughter, and has left several descendants who have been famous in the public service.

The battle-ground, and especially the Russell pasture on which the Monument to "General Warren and his brave associates" stood, became an object of great interest to sojourners and travellers. In the early days of the Republic, when the facilities for travel were exceedingly limited, the number of travellers was comparatively less than now. There were but few tourists in those days. A daily stage-coach furnished all the accommodation for travel on the principal thoroughfares, and many long and intimate friendships were commenced by the chance acquaintance of fellow-passengers during a long day's ride.

As strangers came to Charlestown to visit the battle-field, they often inquired after some of the old residents, who, as witnesses of the event, might relate to them the details of the battle, every year becoming

more famous. There was Richard Devens, the old Commissary of the Army, who was on the Committee of Public Safety, and knew all the movements of the patriots, with whom he was associated from the start. Many statements he communicated as to their doings, and as to the reasons which prompted them to act. He died, September 20, 1807, at the age of eighty years; and there are several descendants of distinction bearing his honored name.

Of course, Judge Russell, as the owner of the pasture-land on which the most important event of the battle and of American history occurred, knew all the incidents of the bloody day, and was ready to impart them to all those who enjoyed his bounteous hospitality. Deacon Thomas Miller, who married the widow of a son of Commissary Devens, and was in the battle, was always ready to accompany the strangers to the ground.

It was from these three prominent citizens that President Dwight obtained the facts mentioned in his account of the battle. He gives the following narration of the advice of a veteran, in the first American council of war, upon the question, "How many cartridges should be served out to the men in Prescott's expedition?" This veteran felt the urgent necessity of husbanding their ammunition, and he said: "War is in substance the same thing with hunting. A skilful hunter never shoots until he is sure of his mark. In the same manner ought soldiers to act. To shoot at men without being sufficiently near, and

without taking aim, is to shoot at random, and only to waste your powder. A thousand men are ordered out to Bunker's Hill. Suppose each man to have five rounds of cartridges; the whole number will be five thousand. If half of these should take effect (and if they do not, the men are not fit to be entrusted with cartridges), the consequence is that two thousand five hundred of the British fall. Does any man believe that they will keep the ground until two thousand five hundred are shot down? Let our men take aim, then, as I do when I am hunting deer, and five rounds will be enough. Ten will certainly be more than enough." Although the result did not justify the calculation, there is no doubt that the firing of the Americans did far more deadly execution than that of any like body in any previous battle. This well-authenticated statement proves that there was a general understanding among all those in command on the American side that the men should reserve their fire until they could take good aim.

Many strangers were also referred to Isaac Warren, a Revolutionary soldier, though not in this battle, but on duty in the immediate neighborhood, who lived near the old Charlestown Square, and was about the only person bearing the name of Warren in the town. He would send invariably for his friend and neighbor, Deacon Miller, and they would often repair in company, as guides of the interested traveller, to the consecrated ground. It is one of the earliest recollections of the writer's childhood, being the errand-boy, and then following the group, to hear the

oft-repeated, but always seemingly marvellous, story. The Masonic Monument, as it gleamed up to the clear sky from the vacant and extended field, with no building near to dwarf its appearance or mar its beautiful proportions, and bearing its impressive inscriptions, read repeatedly until learned by heart, was always an object of surpassing interest. Isaac Warren was the founder of Warren Academy, a flourishing institution in Woburn.

Timothy Thompson was also frequently sought out. On the day of the battle, after removing his wife, who was then pregnant, he made haste to join in the fight, and assisted in bearing off the field Colonel Gardner, who received a mortal wound, from which he soon died. One of the first orders issued by General Washington, after taking command, was in reference to his funeral. Thompson's son, Timothy, was the first child born in Charlestown after the battle. The father lived till 1834, and was much respected. He has left several descendants, from whom the State and the city have been receiving much valuable service.

William Calder, who commanded a company in the battle, was a prominent character. After providing for the safety of his son, Robert, in the morning of that day, by putting him in a box supplied with breathing openings, and sending him off in a team, he joined his company, and did good service. Major Calder, as he was afterwards called, raised the Charlestown Artillery, which he commanded at the bridge celebration, in 1786, and was one of the Monument Committee of King Solomon's Lodge.

There were other survivors of the battle, and many spectators of the scene from the surrounding rooftops and high places, each of whom had his personal reminiscences, and his own story to tell. To weave these separate accounts into a connected narrative, has been found to be no easy task. Such, however, is the delicate and difficult office of history. Many statements, as might naturally be expected, have been found irreconcilable. As persons differ materially in describing an ordinary occurrence, they would be apt to vary more essentially in narrating a scene of such great excitement and absorbing interest. But making all allowance for the discrepancies which would naturally arise from the excitement of the beholder at the time, and from his inadequate means of observation over the whole field, amid the smoke and din of a frightful conflagration, enough still remains, from all the statements put together and carefully sifted, from which to draw a tolerably accurate sketch of the great event as it actually transpired.

The first matter that was usually explained to the visitor was, how this place came to be fortified, when the order was given to fortify the real Bunker Hill, which is to be seen at a little distance, and of apparently twice the height. The ready answer was that this was not generally known by any distinct appellation as another hill. The parcels of land were called after their owners. Breed's pasture or land was not on the height of this lower surface, but stretched out on the south-easterly declivity. The



place selected, not being then commonly called Breed's Hill, was deemed by Colonel Prescott, who had the charge of its execution, to be clearly included within the order under which he acted. It was nearer to the enemy in Boston, and, besides, if the higher eminence had been fortified, the British would immediately take possession of this. General Putnam was known to be in favor of fortifying both eminences, but he advocated commencing here.

The next explanation would generally be that the outlines of the surface did not correctly show the works of the American forces in their expeditious construction of their redoubt and line of defence. The British, on taking possession and occupying the ground, for nine months after the battle, during which a large part of their army made it their winter quarters, had almost obliterated the American lines. They reversed the redoubt, so as to make it face in the opposite direction, looking towards the patriot lines, as will be more fully explained in the following chapter.

Dr. John Warren says, in his diary, "The works which had been cast up by our men were entirely destroyed." This is of the date of March 21. He describes Charlestown as "a most melancholy heap of ruins," and says, "The hill which was the theatre upon which the bloody tragedy of the 17th of June was acted commands the most affecting view I ever saw in my life. The walls of magnificent buildings tottering to the earth below; above, a great number of rude hillocks, under which are deposited the remains,

in clusters, of those deathless heroes who fell in the field of battle."

Vivid descriptions were given of Colonel William Prescott, as he was seen within the redoubt urging on the work, or coolly walking outside upon the top to give courage to his men, dressed in his loose Indian banian; or giving orders to his men to withhold their fire, on the advance of the enemy, until they could see the whites of their eyes, to take good aim, and not to waste their powder; or as he was conducting the retreat, the ammunition gone, and there being few bayonets in the regiment to sustain a close encounter, leading them off the field with so small a loss. How he spurned the idea in the morning that his regiment should be relieved, after their fatiguing labors! No: the men who built the fort will best defend it. How he did plead with General Ward for leave to return with his own men and only five hundred more, with sufficient ammunition and bayonets, and he would guarantee to retake the hill!

There were those who saw General Israel Putnam gallantly riding over every part of the field, bringing on reinforcements, giving counsel, and ever exposing himself in the thickest of the fight. He imparted his chivalrous ardor not only to his own troops from Connecticut, but to all who joined in the combat. The British officers who recognized his form in the distance felt his presence, and nerved themselves to greater efforts in leading on their men to the encounter. Mention was often made of the hearty

cheers given to General Seth Pomeroy, the senior general officer from Massachusetts, as he advanced to the field.

Many anecdotes were told of Colonel John Stark, afterwards appointed Brigadier-General of the Revolutionary army, — of his coolness and eccentric traits. He was, indeed, an original character. As he marched slowly with his regiment, that the men on arrival might be still fresh for action, he took position at the extreme left of the line, and firmly held the ground. The New Hampshire men were there in large numbers. In fact, while some of Stark's men enlisted from Prescott's town, Pepperell, near the border of that State, Hollis sent in turn a full company to Prescott's regiment. Stark often said, "that there was no commander of all the American troops on this hard-fought day; and that most of the officers who conducted men there, all being moved by one common impulse and to one common end, fought the common enemy much as they deemed best, each acting pretty much on his own hook." This statement quoted by Judge Levi Woodbury seems to be the conclusion now generally arrived at upon the vexed controversy of the command: that, while Prescott commanded and defended the fort, Putnam and Pomeroy were mainly engaged in holding the centre, and Stark, Reed, and Knowlton, at the extreme left of the line on the Mystic, were driving back the enemy in his persistent attempt to flank and surround the American forces.

There were those who saw General Warren fall, as he slowly retreated in the rear, and was shot in his head. He was heard to exclaim, "I'm a dead man; fight on, my brave fellows, for the salvation of your country!" "Country" was the last word upon the heroic martyr's lips.

Those who gazed from the neighboring high places, viewed a most sublime spectacle, mingled with terror and grandeur, and they could not have failed to describe it often. There were elements in this scene rarely witnessed, which no pen could adequately portray, but which must have been most impressively told by the witnesses many a time upon the spot, as the great sad experience of their lives.

Occasionally an intelligent Englishman would be shown over the ground, and, if he ventured to remark that the English gained this battle, he would be told, in substance: "True, the English gained this field at tremendous cost, for on that day they lost a continent, as their ablest statesmen declared at the time." Then the judgment of General Howe would be questioned by his countrymen for landing his troops where he did, when, under the protection of his ships, his barges might have borne them further up the Mystic, whence they could have attacked Prescott in his rear. But, before that could have been effected, from the superior point of observation their movement would have been divined in season, and General Ward would have hurried on detachments from his army reserved at Cambridge for that purpose, which, with Prescott's men, would have placed the British in a still worse position.

Was not the battle a blunder on both sides? were not the Americans foolhardy in undertaking to fortify the hill? and were not the British equally rash in making the attack? were questions often asked by the inquiring stranger. No! it was the inevitable movement of events. The Americans were determined to drive the British out of Boston. If they had not made the advance, the British would have secured the position, and strengthened their situation. As the result showed, the British were drawn out by the bold movement, and appeared eager to invite the combat. The challenge was accepted, and an exhibition of native skill, of cool courage, bravery, and heroic daring, satisfied their opponents that the American patriots were indeed in sober earnest.

It is now very many years since the last survivor of the battle has lingered upon the scene to rehearse his story upon the ground. Those who repeat the incidents now to the curious stranger speak as they have learned from tradition, or from their study of the various printed accounts. The open pasture-fields have been closed in; the rude fences which divided them have given place to more frequent and more permanent walls of separation. The Masonic Monument, erected so soon to mark the spot where Warren fell, has disappeared, and a crowded thoroughfare traverses its foundations. Costly mansions, school-houses and churches, stand where the contending armies trod, and commingled their blood, and buried their dead. The historic Charlestown has arisen like a phoenix from her immortal ashes, and now forms a part

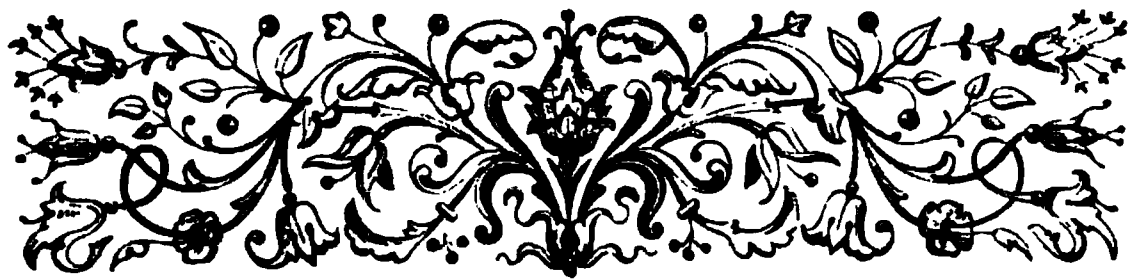
of the great metropolis, glorying in the sacrifice of fire which she made at the coming of the new-born nation. Within the reserved square, where the courageous Prescott raised, in a short summer's night, a formidable fortification, — a type of the nation's future rapid growth, — stands the Bunker Hill Monument, towering up to the skies, and, in a majestic silence all its own, ever prepared to tell to succeeding ages what the first Centennial anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill has brought up vividly to the notice of this generation.

During this Centennial year the attention of the whole country and of the world is turned towards PHILADELPHIA, where the sentiment of the Union of the States was first organized in a governmental form, and where their Independence was not only declared, but made a fixed fact in history. And, as the representatives and peoples of all nations and tongues repair thither to exhibit in friendly rivalry whatever in Art, in Invention, and in Applied Science this progressive age has developed for them respectively; and while in the general greeting they, in turn, may curiously examine whatever of value and of interest is exhibited on the part of the United States of America, at the completion of its first century, — they may be pointed to Bunker Hill as the place where the idea of American Independence first germinated, and to BOSTON as the Cradle of the Nation.









### CHAPTER III.

Oh! is not this a holy spot?  
'Tis the high place of Freedom's birth: —  
God of our fathers! is it not  
The holiest spot of all the earth?

**G**REAT excitement was created in 1818 by the publication of "An Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill," by Henry Dearborn, then Major-General of the United States army. It was a pamphlet of sixteen pages, first written for the "Port Folio," a popular magazine, and then published separately, with a copy of a map or plan of the battle newly discovered, which had been drawn by Henry De Bernier, of the Tenth Royal British Infantry, who was in the engagement. In this plan, as published, Dearborn had made certain changes. Dearborn was also in the battle, having command of a company raised by him in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and forming a part of Stark's regiment. Being invited by the editor of the "Port Folio" to prepare an account of the battle, more than forty years after it occurred, he gave several interesting reminiscences of the part which his commander, Colonel Stark, and himself took; but, overlooking and slighting the doings on other parts of the field, he made a desperate attack upon General

Putnam, charging him with incapacity and cowardice. These reflections, coming from one who held high rank in the army of the United States, produced quite a sensation throughout the country. Colonel Daniel Putnam published an earnest and sharp reply in defence of his father, and Dearborn, with the assistance of his son, Henry A. S. Dearborn, sought to substantiate his account, by procuring affidavits from several of the survivors of the battle. Hon. John Lowell also published, in the "Columbian Centinel," an able review of General Dearborn's statement, in which he stoutly defended General Putnam.

At this juncture DANIEL WEBSTER published in the "North American Review" of July, 1818, an exhaustive review of Dearborn's "Account," in which he gives a glowing description of the battle, and by a comparison of the various authorities he proves convincingly that General Putnam did his whole duty on that day, and is fully entitled to the gratitude which his countrymen had ever felt towards him, and to the unlimited confidence in his valor and discretion which Washington had always expressed throughout his long and faithful service. At the close of his article, after a very severe rebuke to the spirit of detraction which characterized General Dearborn's ill-timed production, Mr. Webster says: "Let us remember that we have nothing more precious than the reputation of our distinguished men, civil or military, living or dead. Let us deprecate the spirit that depreciates merit; and let us embrace, in all its extent and spirit, that maxim, — full of the soundest wisdom,

and fit to be urged again and again, with all possible earnestness, — CHARACTER IS POWER.” This admonition is applicable at all times to those writers and speakers who, preferring to deal in censure rather than in praise, are too anxious to seek victims of their spite, regardless of the fame and good name of their country. Putnam is an exception to the general rule, for his brilliant record was not questioned until this time, over twenty years after his decease, while, with most of our great public men, the case has been that they have been the subjects of severe animadversion and calumny in their lifetime, which have been sufficiently atoned for by the general praise of their opponents over their new-made graves.

General William H. Sumner, who was appointed Adjutant-General of the Massachusetts militia by his Excellency Governor JOHN BROOKS, called the attention of his Excellency to Dearborn’s “Account” and his plan from De Bernier, and he gives the following statement: “The plan struck Governor Brooks as being erroneous, and he said to Colonel Swett and myself, ‘Gentlemen, I have not been on to that ground since the battle, and if you will accompany me I will go there and examine it.’ According to assignment, the Adjutant-General, and Colonel Swett, his first aide, met the Governor on the hill in the beginning of the month of June, 1818, for the purpose of examining the works and comparing them with Dearborn’s plan. We went into the redoubt together. After looking about him and examining the ground, the Governor said: ‘Gentlemen, where is the sally-port? I do not see where

it was. Let us look about and see if we can find it.' We found an excavation in the lines of the fort on the side opposite to that where we afterwards found it had been when the works were thrown up the night before the battle. 'Gentlemen,' said the Governor, 'can we verify this? For,' continued he, 'the fact is, the breastwork ran in a northerly or north-easterly direction from the sally-port; and, if we can ascertain where that breastwork was, we can identify the true position of the sally-port.' He requested Colonel Swett and Major Swan (who came down with the Governor from Medford, and whose father owned or leased the ground) to go several rods in a direction which he pointed out, then to turn and walk at right angles to the course they had before taken, to see if they could find where the old breastwork was, which had probably been ploughed down. The grass was high, and it could not be seen, until the gentlemen, wading the grass, came into a hollow place and ascended a little height, and then passed down into another hollow on the other side. The gentlemen exclaimed, 'We have found it.' Governor Brooks said: 'I thought you would. Let us examine a little further. Take the same course, and go down a short distance, and see if you find there the same evidences of its position.' They did so, and satisfied the Governor that they had discovered the place where the breastwork was built, and thus verified the fact that the sally-port was originally in the place where he had indicated it ought to be found."

"It was plain to the observer," continues General

Sumner, "that if the breastwork ran in the direction indicated by General Dearborn's plan, it would puzzle the commander to tell on which side of it his men should be placed, in order to defend the main position. Thus it appears, from Governor Brooks's recollection of the ground, that the plan which General Dearborn had published, in connection with his work impeaching General Putnam, *was not a plan of the ground as it was on the 17th of June*, when the battle was fought. The explanation of these facts is probably this: that Dearborn's was that of *the works after the retreat of the American forces, and the consequent change of the relative position of the two armies.*"

Thus it will be seen that the embittered controversy started by General Dearborn had the effect to recall the attention of the leading men to the great significance of the battle, and the importance of verifying its incidents. Governor Brooks was prompted to visit the field, which he had not trod since he there risked his life, a period of forty-three years, although he had lived all the time in the adjoining town of Medford, at a distance of only five miles. Colonel Samuel Swett, his senior aide, from the awakening of public attention to the subject, with great pains and industry, gathered all the information from the various sources which could then be reached, and produced, in the fall of that year, his *History of the Battle*. The article of Mr. Webster, in the "*North American Review*," was eagerly read by all, as was every thing coming from him, and his earnest and clearly expressed views became the theme of discussion in the

press, and in the social circle. For years before, no stranger visiting Boston would willingly leave without visiting Bunker Hill, and now the people living in its vicinity woke up of a sudden to realize to the full extent the immortal fame of the locality.

While the topics of the battle were still made the theme of discourse and investigation, a portion of the land was offered for sale. It was advertised to be sold at auction.

WILLIAM TUDOR, a distinguished writer and scholar, whose father had served as Judge Advocate during the Revolution, first called the attention of his friends and of the public to the importance of securing, not only this parcel that was offered for sale, but all the adjoining land, that the whole battle-field might be preserved, if possible, to posterity, and that a monument should be erected thereon, which should be equal if not superior to any work of the kind in the world.

Mr. Tudor was the founder, and for a considerable period the editor, of the "North American Review," and, remembering the valuable contribution which Mr. WEBSTER had made to that journal in relation to the Battle of Bunker Hill and the merits of General Putnam, he applied to him to assist in the undertaking. Mr. Webster gave it his most hearty approval. EDWARD EVERETT was next approached upon the subject, and he entered into it with equal interest.

Mr. Webster had been then a resident of Boston for seven years, during which time he had been for the most part in private life. But his previous service in

Congress as a representative from New Hampshire, his argument in the Dartmouth College case before the Supreme Court of the United States, and his address at Plymouth, in 1820, at the Bicentennial Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, gave him a national reputation as the foremost man at the bar and the forum, and in popular oratory. He had just been elected as a representative of Boston in Congress. Although he came to Boston with the determination to devote himself exclusively to his profession, he was obliged to yield to this imperative demand of the public.

Mr. Everett, then at the age of twenty-eight, was filling the chair of Professor of Greek Literature at Cambridge, and was attracting large audiences to his public lectures; he was also a liberal contributor of valuable articles to the "North American Review." The three might be said to constitute at that time a literary and professional triumvirate, whose opinions would be authority not only in the social circles in which they figured, but with the public in general. They were also ardent in their patriotic devotion to the memory of the leaders in the American Revolution.

In their desire to enlist a leading citizen of the wealthy classes, whose influence would be effectual to gain their encouragement and support, the name of THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS was naturally suggested. Colonel Perkins, as he was then familiarly called, having been a commander of the cadets, — for

in those days Colonel was a high title, — was a true type of the merchant prince. He had retired from active business with what was then considered an ample fortune, and was engaged in works of beneficence, and in the enjoyment of refined society. He entered heartily into the plan proposed.

In securing the land of Bunker Hill, and especially that part of it which was offered for immediate sale, Doctor JOHN COLLINS WARREN was appealed to. He was the son of Doctor John Warren, who was the brother of the martyr Joseph, and whom he succeeded in the business of his profession, with an exalted reputation. He at once embarked in the undertaking; he promptly performed the part first assigned to him in obtaining the land offered for sale, and in various ways co-operated zealously with those associated with him. He readily purchased the Russell pasture (so called), which was advertised for sale, containing about two acres and three quarters, and held it until a corporation could be created to take the title.

These five gentlemen were the principal originators of the Bunker Hill Monument. By the happy combination of their varied powers, and by the weight of their social influence, they were enabled to form the patriotic Association which has commanded the respect of the country, and is entitled to the gratitude and praise of succeeding generations.

Well knowing the effective power of the festive board as a means of legitimate social influence, Colonel Perkins invited these gentlemen and about a



dozen others to his house, for the purpose of giving a start to the enterprise. While seated at his bounteous table, the select company discussed its merits, and determined to put it into execution. It was agreed that it was high time that a national monument should be erected in commemoration of the American Revolution and its great results, and that BUNKER HILL was the place of all others whereon it should stand. Several other gentlemen were named who should be asked to join in this undertaking. It was finally determined that early in the ensuing spring, before the meeting of the Legislature, measures should be taken to procure an act of incorporation, and it was left with a committee to convene them, together with the other parties agreed upon, in season. The Legislature at that time commenced its session on the last Wednesday of May, which was then the beginning of the political year of the commonwealth.

In pursuance of this understanding, the following notice was issued, and sent in the form of a private letter to the gentlemen invited (the original, in the handwriting of Mr. Webster, signed by him and by Mr. Tudor and Mr. Lyman, is still preserved) : —

BOSTON, May 10, 1823.

DEAR SIR, — Some conversation having taken place last year on the propriety of forming an Association for the erection of a Monument on Bunker's Hill, in commemoration of the early events of the Revolution, it has seemed to us desirable to renew the interchange of opinion on this subject, and to pursue the design, as far and as fast as may be practicable.

With this view, we have taken the liberty of inviting you to meet us and a few other gentlemen at the Exchange Coffee-house, on Tuesday, at twelve o'clock.

We are, with great regard, your most obedient servants,

DANL. WEBSTER.

W. TUDOR.

THEODORE LYMAN, JR.

At the time appointed, after an animated discussion, the following paper was adopted and signed. It is the agreement under which the Association was formed, prepared also by Mr. Webster, the original of which has been carefully preserved : —

The advantages of our Revolution are daily felt by every American; and, at the same time, that illustrious event is exciting more and more the admiration of the rest of the world, and an ardent desire to adopt its principles. Yet, glorious and beneficent as its consequences have proved to this nation, not a single monument worthy of being named has hitherto been elevated to testify public gratitude or do honor to national sentiment in the eyes of our own citizens or of strangers.

The feeling of patriotic minds has often been excited on this subject, and has of late years been so frequently expressed that the time seems to have arrived when the generous spirit of an intelligent and prosperous community is fully prepared for beginning in earnest the work of establishing a monument worthy of the citizens by whom it will be raised and of the cause to which it will be consecrated.

It may be justly expected that the portion of the nation which so fearlessly, resolutely, and magnanimously took the lead in the struggle, should also set the first example of erecting a monument to its fame; and that the citizens generally of the Eastern States would be eager to show their reverence for the principles and services of the civil and military heroes of New England.

The FIELD OF BUNKER HILL has always presented itself as the most suitable site for such a monument. This ground, which is held sacred in public estimation, is yet open; but the rapid increase of population in its vicinity will soon cause it to be parcelled out and occupied with buildings, when the ashes of the brave who repose there will be dug up and scattered: and posterity will then loudly exclaim against the apathy of the generation which shall have suffered this field of honor to be thus violated and for ever obscured.

From these and other considerations, the subscribers have associated together to obtain an act of incorporation, as a convenient mode of operation; and to devise the means of collecting subscriptions and contributions from the public, and holding the same as trustees, for the purpose of deciding on and erecting such a monument as shall endure to future ages, and be a permanent memorial, consecrated by the gratitude of the present generation, to the memory of those statesmen and soldiers who led the way in the American Revolution.

For this purpose, we subscribe and pay the sum of five dollars,

DANL. WEBSTER.

JESSE PUTNAM.

JOSEPH STORY, *by D. Webster.*

EDWARD EVERETT.

SAMUEL D. HARRIS.

SAML. SWETT.

THEODORE LYMAN, JR.

STEPHEN GORHAM, JR.

W. TUDOR.

T. H. PERKINS, *by W. Tudor.*

H. A. S. DEARBORN, *by Samuel D. Harris.*

B. GORHAM, *by W. Tudor.*

FRANKLIN DEXTER.

WILLIAM SULLIVAN,

*by Theodore Lyman, Jr.*

G. TICKNOR, *by W. Tudor.*

C. R. CODMAN.

W. DUTTON.

I. P. DAVIS.

B. WELLES.

J. C. WARREN.

G. BLAKE.

F. C. GRAY.

N. P. RUSSELL.

RD. SULLIVAN.

THOMAS HARRIS.

SETH KNOWLES.

In the absence of Mr. Webster, General Henry A. S. Dearborn took his place on the Committee, and joined with Mr. Tudor and Mr. Lyman in preparing

and presenting the following petition to the Legislature: —

*To the Honourable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:—*

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, most respectfully represent, — That, feeling a deep interest in the honor of our country, and entertaining a grateful recollection of the distinguished services rendered by those patriots of the council and of the battle-field who boldly commenced and triumphantly achieved our national Independence, we are unwilling that their names, or the deeds which render them illustrious, should pass down to future ages without a monument having been erected, by the present generation, to the names of the soldiers who gloriously fell in the contest for freedom, and commemorative of those momentous events which immediately preceded, and which established numerous splendid epochs during the progress of the Revolution.

If great actions, having for their object the public good; if individuals, renowned for their civil or military virtues, have, in all ages, illumined the history and claimed the admiration of nations; — if they have been decreed worthy of the triumphal arch, the column, the temple, or the mausoleum, — what people ever had more cause thus to cherish the memory of their statesmen and heroes than those of the United States? Emerging from the war for Independence, we have advanced in the route of national glory with a rapidity unprecedented in the annals of empires; but, during our cheering progress in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, literature, science and the arts, we appear not to have been sufficiently mindful of the infinite obligations we are under to those who braved the hardships, privations, and dangers of the conflict, for the boasted privileges we enjoy. No monument designates the ever-memorable heights of Charlestown, or Saratoga, the plains of Trenton, Monmouth, or Yorktown. No statue, not even of Washington, adorns the Capitol, or do his ashes repose under a national tomb.

As "the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution" was given in the North; as the plains of Massachusetts were first stained with the blood of patriots, — THERE should be reared the FIRST PILLAR of the Republic; and what spot more sacred, more appropriate, and more commanding than Bunker Hill? The battle there fought may be considered as the commencement of an era more wonderful in its progress and important in its consequences than any which had preceded. There were laid the everlasting foundations of LIBERTY; from thence went forth the spirit of representative government, which is advancing, with the general and irresistible march of intelligence, round the globe. The whole human race are destined to venerate the names of those gallant citizens of New England who there breasted the tempest of war for the "*unalienable rights of man*," — THERE are we bound, by the principles of patriotism, gratitude, and honor, to erect a column, which, while it perpetuates the names of those "who lived in times that tried men's souls," and the ever-memorable action of *the seventeenth of June, seventeen hundred and seventy-five*, shall be a glorious monument of the taste and munificence of our country.

Therefore, it is requested that we, together with such persons as may hereafter associate with us, may be constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name of the "Bunker Hill Monument Association," which shall be authorized to collect money by subscriptions, and receive donations for the purposes above stated.

Boston, May 28, 1823.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

W. TUDOR.

THEODORE LYMAN, JR.

*A Committee on behalf of the Associates.*

Then follow the names above given.

It required but little comparative effort to obtain the passage of the following Act of Incorporation,

which was readily approved by His Excellency WILLIAM EUSTIS, the Governor:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*In the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three  
An act to incorporate the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

SEC. 1. Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That Joseph Story, Jesse Putnam, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Samuel D. Harris, Samuel Swett, Theodore Lyman, Jr., Stephen Gorham, Jr., Thomas H. Perkins, William Tudor, Henry A. S. Dearborn, Benjamin Gorham, Franklin Dexter, William Sullivan, George Ticknor, Charles R. Codman, Warren Dutton, Isaac P. Davis, Thomas Harris, Seth Knowles, Benjamin Welles, John C. Warren, George Blake, and Francis C. Gray, their associates and successors, be and they are hereby made a body politic and corporate, by the name of the “Bunker Hill Monument Association,” with all the powers, and subject to all the duties, of aggregate corporations, and for the purposes herein after named.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That said corporation shall have power to take and hold, by gift, grant, or devise, such real and personal estate and property as may be necessary or convenient to promote the object of the incorporation, — the construction of a monument in Charlestown to perpetuate the memory of the early events of the American Revolution.

SEC. 3. Be it further enacted, That the said Henry A. S. Dearborn, William Tudor, and Theodore Lyman, Jr., or any two of them, may call the first meeting of said corporation, by giving three days' previous notice in two public newspapers printed in Boston; at which, or at any subsequent meeting, the said corporation may choose such officers, agents, and trustees as they may think proper, and establish such by-laws and regulations for their own government and the management of their concerns, not repugnant to the laws

and constitution of this Commonwealth, as they may deem necessary, and the same may modify and annul at pleasure.

SEC. 4. Be it further enacted, That said corporation may, at any time after said monument shall be completed, assign and transfer the same, with the land on which it stands, and the appurtenances, to the Commonwealth; and that the Commonwealth will accept the same, provided that the Commonwealth shall not thereby become liable for debts contracted by said corporation.

Approved by the Governor, June 7, 1823.

Copy.

A. BRADFORD,  
*Secretary of Commonwealth.*

The parchment upon which the act is engrossed bears the signatures of William C. Jarvis, Speaker of the House, and Nathaniel Silsbee, President of the Senate, as well as that of the Governor.

The requisite notice was given, by the gentlemen named in the third section, by publication in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" and the "Boston Patriot," on the 10th of June, and, on the 13th of June, the first meeting was held at the Exchange Coffee House, at which it was voted to accept the act, and to form a corporation under the provisions thereof. The meeting was adjourned to the 17th June, when by-laws were adopted, and the following officers were chosen: John Brooks, President; Thos. H. Perkins and Joseph Story, Vice-Presidents; William Tudor, Secretary; Nath'l P. Russell, Treasurer; and Daniel Webster, Henry A. S. Dearborn, Benjamin Gorham, George Blake, John C. Warren, Samuel D. Harris, Jesse Putnam, Isaac P. Davis, Seth Knowles, Edward

Everett, George Ticknor, Franklin Dexter, and Theodore Lyman, Jr., Directors. A Committee of Correspondence was chosen, consisting of William Tudor, Richard Sullivan, and Francis C. Gray. These were kindred spirits, all gentlemen of culture and high character, and qualified to lead and adorn the most polished society.

The by-laws prescribed the duties of the different officers, fixed upon the Seventeenth of June as the day of holding the Annual Meeting, authorized the Directors to elect twelve additional Directors, making the whole number twenty-five, and gave them full power to purchase the land and erect the monument, requiring the plan to be submitted to the Corporation. This provision seems to have been subsequently overlooked; except, perhaps, as the approval of the Corporation was not declared to be requisite, the report of the doings of the Directors, including the adoption of the plan, might have been deemed a sufficient compliance.

Twenty-five gentlemen were elected members: namely, Amos Lawrence, David Sears, Patrick T. Jackson, Nathan Hale, Benjamin Russell, Edward Brooks, John D. Williams, Jonathan Phillips, Augustus Thorndike, of Boston; Nathaniel Silsbee, Leverett Saltonstall, Henry Pickering, of Salem; Joseph Hurd, of Charlestown; Levi Lincoln, of Worcester; Henry H. Childs, of Pittsfield; Joseph Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, of Northampton; Samuel Dana, of Groton; Bezaleel Taft, of Uxbridge; Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport; Josiah J. Fiske, of Wrentham; Thomas



Rotch, of New Bedford; John Reed, of Barnstable; Francis Baylies, of Taunton; and Barnabas Hedge, of Plymouth.

Five dollars was established as the fee of Membership.

The following circular letter was addressed to prominent men of the country by the Committee of Correspondence, who commenced their labors immediately: —

Boston, July, 1823.

SIR,—The undersigned, a committee in behalf of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, have the honor to address you in regard to the object of said Association, incorporated at the last session of our legislature.

It is intended to elevate on Bunker Hill, which fortunately is still partly open ground, a simple, majestic, lofty, and permanent monument, which shall carry down to remote ages a testimony, consecrated by the patriotism of the present generation, to the heroic virtue and courage of those men who began and achieved the independence of their country. It is proposed that this monument shall contain the names and dates of all the distinguished characters and events which originated in New England; that it shall comprise, in one noble and commanding plan, all the separate merits which have, on various occasions, been proposed to be thus honored; in fine, that it shall be a monument dedicated to the Revolutionary glory which belongs to this portion of the Union. It shall be a structure worthy of the cause, worthy of the men, and worthy of the results these have produced. As the struggle began with us, we should take the lead in thus celebrating it; and what spot can be more suitable — possessed as it is of conspicuous natural advantages, and rendered sacred by its recollections — than the ground where the first battle was fought, — where our appeal was made irrevocable; and sealed in blood? All the States which now

form the Eastern division of the Union have a similar interest in this cause: they each sent their brave citizens to take part in this same battle; and each produced great men, whose names will be inscribed on the monument. We presume, therefore, that, from all parts of them, voluntary offerings may be expected to aid this enterprise. In this State, we propose, through committees in each town, to make an appeal to every individual, and to receive the smallest donation that may be offered; believing that the design must be effected by a universal contribution of small sums, rather than by a few subscriptions of great amount, though we are not without expectation that some of our wealthy and public-spirited men may subscribe liberally to the undertaking. The separate contributions of each State and town will be carefully noted; and we intend to record, in a volume to be deposited in the monument, the name of every person who gives to the amount of a dollar.

We have addressed a letter to the Governor of your State, and have given him the names of the few gentlemen mentioned below, to whom we have also written. We solicit your sanction and your efforts in a cause which is to honor the past and the present, and excite emulation in the future.

We remain, respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. TUDOR.


RD. SULLIVAN.

F. C. GRAY.

Thus sprang into legal existence the Bunker Hill Monument Association, by whose means the most interesting part of the historic battle-ground of America has been preserved for the grateful admiration and tribute of the lovers of liberty throughout the world in all coming time.





Your Obedt. Servt -  
J. W. Dickinson  


The following  
 law, and  
 the State  
 of New York,  
 in which  
 the same  
 was made  
 known to  
 the public,  
 and retired from  
 the world, who  
 were, in  
 June 1870,  
 Samuel J.





## CHAPTER IV.

Join we together for the public good.

**J**OHNS BROOKS, who was elected the first President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, was a hero of the Revolutionary period, and continued to show his unselfish devotion to his native town of Medford, to his State and his country, during his protracted life. He was an influential friend of Washington, and received from him while President the appointment of Marshal of the District of Massachusetts. Upon the occasion of the lamented decease of Washington he pronounced before the inhabitants of Medford an eloquent eulogy. He was a firm supporter of public order and the authority of law, and gave his efficient aid in the suppression of Shays's Rebellion. He was an esteemed friend of LAFAYETTE, and it was his good fortune to extend to the Nation's guest a cordial reception and welcome, in which his fellow-townsmen heartily joined. When elected President of the Association, he had just retired from the office of Governor of the Commonwealth, which he had held for seven years, his successor, Governor Eustis, having been inaugurated June 4, 1823.

Dr. John C. Warren and Col. Samuel D. Harris,

who were appointed a Committee to inform him of his election and to request his acceptance, reported, June 30, that he was pleased to say, "that the object of the Corporation had been a desirable one in his mind, that he felt a strong interest in its success, and that he accepted with pleasure the office of President to which he had been elected." He was re-elected at the Annual Meeting in 1824; but it does not appear by the records, or by any report or letter in existence, that he attended any meeting, or acted upon any committee, although it is highly probable that he might have informally conferred with the officers of the Corporation, and given them his advice or some important suggestion. He was connected with Mr. Everett by marriage, and probably had conferred with him on the subject. The only real service which he appears to have rendered the Corporation is his valued indorsement of its objects by lending at the start his great and venerated name. He died in his native town, Medford, March 1, 1825, at the age of seventy-three years.

The Corporation was remarkably fortunate in the selection of its Treasurer, who was the only one of its original members who filled the same office during his life and until after the completion of the great work. In the promptness, accuracy, and skill with which he discharged the manifold and perplexing duties of his office, he was alike distinguished.

NATHANIEL POPE RUSSELL was descended from a family of that name, settled in Boston since 1680, and evidently of a different origin from the Charles-



town family. His first ancestor in this country was the Rev. John Russell, Jr., pastor of the First Baptist Church, who had come from England with his father previous to 1642. Mr. Russell was born in Danvers, Mass., August 15, 1779, during the temporary residence of his father in that town, but was educated and always lived in Boston.

He received a mercantile training with Stephen Fales, a merchant of respectability, and was afterwards employed as secretary by Peter C. Brooks, in the private underwriting office, now incorporated as the Boston Insurance Company. In 1803, Mr. Brooks retired from the office, and was succeeded by Mr. Russell, who continued it till near 1820. Having then acquired a competency, Mr. Russell withdrew from active business, and devoted the remainder of his life to the service of various public and private charities and trusts. The most prominent among these was the Treasurership of this Association, to which he devoted twenty-five years of earnest and valuable service. He was also for many years Treasurer of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and of the West Boston Religious Society, under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Lowell, besides having twice been a member of the City Government, and a Representative and Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature, but declined being a candidate for Mayor.

Mr. Russell was a kind-hearted, helpful man, always ready to contribute his assistance or advice to those who needed either. Perhaps, after SOLOMON WIL-LARD, no member was more useful to the Association.

William Tudor, who originated the sublime conception of erecting a superb National Monument, was placed in the responsible office of Secretary, and also upon the Committee of Correspondence. The duties of both positions were congenial to his taste, and he performed them with alacrity while he remained at home; but he was soon called abroad in the service of the National Government, at first as Consul at Lima, and afterwards as Chargé d'Affaires at Brazil.

Mr. Webster was at the head of the list of Directors, and he presided at the meetings of the Directors in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents.

Among the replies to the notices of the Secretary to those who were elected members is the following from Hon. Caleb Cushing, which was sent with his usual promptness:—

NEWBURYPORT, July 2, 1823.

WILLIAM TUDOR, Esq.

SIR, — I am much obliged to you, and the other members of the Association which you represent, for the favor you do me in electing me into your number, and shall gladly do all in my power to further its objects when they shall be more fully communicated to me. Enclosed is my payment to the treasury.

Your most obedient servant,

C. CUSHING.

The venerable Mr. Rotch, though belonging to the Society of Friends, did not hesitate to send the following acceptance:—

NEW BEDFORD, July 9, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your note of 5th inst., informing me that I have been chosen a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, was received in due course. For this mark of the partiality of my friends, I beg leave, through you, to offer my best acknowledgments, and to assure them that, at all times, I shall be ready to devote my feeble exertions to the discharge of those duties which may be incumbent on its members.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

THOMAS ROTCH.

I enclose you five dollars, the amount paid by each member.

The gallant son of General Putnam, who himself served with his father as Aide in the Revolutionary War, was not overlooked by the Committee, to whose letter he replied as follows: —

BROOKLYN, 16th August, 1823.

TO W. TUDOR, R. SULLIVAN, and F. C. GRAY, Esquires.

GENTLEMEN, — I have not, until this evening, received your letter, without date, but post-marked the 5th of a month not legible.

I had previously been informed of the Association whose organ you are, and of its object; and it will hardly be necessary for me to assure you that such co-operation as may be within my power shall be most cheerfully rendered. But I am growing an old man: my health, in its best state, will not admit of much personal exertion; and the interruptions of it are so frequent as to confine me mostly at home. I intend, however, if not prevented by circumstances beyond my control, to visit Boston in the month of October; and, should I be able to fulfil this intention, it will give me pleasure to confer with the committee on the subject.

I am respectfully, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

D. PUTNAM.

Hon. Levi Woodbury gave his views to the Committee in this wise: —

PORTSMOUTH, Aug. 7, 1823.

W. TUDOR, R. SULLIVAN, and F. C. GRAY, Esquires.

GENTLEMEN, — I have received your polite communication concerning a monument on Bunker Hill.

The success of a subscription in this State will depend much upon the time and manner of commencing it. Previous to the 4th of July would have been the most favorable period for this purpose. Whether it would now be advisable to delay it till another of our national festivals deserves consideration; and your opinions on that point might be serviceable to us. Inconveniences may attend the delay, of which we are not aware.

I will, soon as may be, confer with some of the gentlemen in this State whom you have designated, and give every aid to the cause which my means and leisure may permit.

With high consideration and respect, your most obedient servant,

L. WOODBURY.

In 1824, Mr. Everett was placed on the Committee of Correspondence, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the departure from the country of Mr. Tudor. Franklin Dexter was made Secretary of the Corporation. The Directors, July 27, appointed a Standing Committee of five to manage the affairs of the Corporation, with authority to call a meeting of the Directors when needful to consult them. Mr. Everett was made Secretary of this Committee, and the next year was made Secretary of the Corporation, and Mr. Dexter was put in his place as Director.

The Committee called a meeting of the Directors on September 3, at which it was voted that the Com-

mittee should be authorized to increase the number of the associates in such manner and to such extent as might seem to them best adapted to promote the ends of the Association. They were advised to give public notice that all persons who should subscribe five dollars should become members of the Association. At this meeting it was deemed best to secure to the Association the full benefit of clergy, as it was voted that all the clergymen of New England should be made honorary members. This vote, however, was never carried out, and none of the clergy were ever made honorary members under it.

The first money which the Treasurer received, other than the initiation fees of the original members, was acknowledged in the following official note to the Secretary:—

BOSTON, Nov. 5, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — The Hon. John Wells, as Treasurer of the Washington Benevolent Society, has transferred to the Bunker Hill Monument Association a certificate for nineteen hundred dollars, of the seven per cent stock of the United States, and has given to me an order for the banners or flags of that Society, which I believe are deposited in the upper story of Faneuil Hall.

I remain, respectfully, your obedient servant,

NATHANIEL P. RUSSELL,

*Treasurer Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

Prof. EDWARD EVERETT, *Secretary Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

This Society, established in honor of Washington, having found it inexpedient to keep up its organization, determined that the best disposition it could

make of its funds and other property would be to appropriate it towards the erection of a National Monument in commemoration of the American Revolution, the happy issue of which was due, under Divine Providence, to his matchless leadership. The only condition attached to the donation was that the Association should pay annually, for five years, thirty dollars to the Washington Artillery, for firing a salute on the 22d of February, Washington's birthday, — which was done.

The following letter of Dr. Warren indicates the familiar and social manner in which they would occasionally meet to discuss the important questions brought up before them: —

Boston, Jan. 5, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — It would have gratified me to meet the Committee on the Monument, according to Gen. Dearborn's wish, in the morning; but you are aware that I am, at this season, called on to consume nearly three hours of that part of the day in lectures, &c., every day; which, with the ordinary calls of my profession, is *more* business than I can meet. In fact, the whole of my time by day is occupied at this season. I will not ask an evening meeting, but will agree to give an afternoon next week to the business; or, considering Gen. D.'s residence in the country, with other things, I propose that the committee should have a dinner together, at the Marlboro' Hotel, at 2 or half-past 2, some day next week except Tuesday; and that this be at the expense of the corporation, unless gentlemen prefer paying.

This is my project, and, if it meets favor, I propose to you to issue notices therefor; and, on hearing from you to this effect, I will order a comfortable dinner, together with a small quantity of the best wine that can be procured, in order to assist our reflections on the Monument.

It is quite necessary, if we mean to do any business, to get the treasurer's reports before meeting.

I had a conference with his Excellency, who has a handsome notice of our plans in his speech.

Very faithfully yours,

JOHN C. WARREN.

E. EVERETT, Esq.

If the time proposed is not sufficiently early, please to order a meeting whenever it suits Gen. D., and without reference to me.

As a matter of fact, however, the gentlemen preferred to dine at their own expense. There are several notes and memoranda referring to other dinners at meetings of the Committee with some of the Directors, at the Exchange, the Subscription House, and the Park House, but in all cases at their own expense. The highest price one paid was \$1.84. Happy days those of the olden time! Occasionally they were entertained by some member of the Committee. Particular mention is made of an agreeable dinner at Mr. Russell's the Treasurer, and one at Mr. Webster's, in Summer Street.

The "handsome notice," referred to by Dr. Warren as forthcoming from Governor Eustis, was a part of his address to the Legislature, January 24, 1825. The Governor said: —

"The erection of a Monument on Bunker's Hill is another work of a public nature, in which our fellow-citizens have taken a great interest. For this purpose an Act of Incorporation was granted, and it is believed that adequate funds will be raised by voluntary subscription. I recommend a revision of the Act, that

two conditions may be added: first, that a plan or model be submitted to the Legislature for their approbation previous to the construction of the Monument; and, secondly, that, when it is completed, it shall revert to the Commonwealth. Should the funds prove insufficient for the completion of such a work as is worthy of the occasion and becoming the character of the State, I do not permit myself to doubt that aid will be afforded by an enlightened Legislature.

“To commemorate one of the principal events of the Revolution; to consecrate the field in Massachusetts, on which, in the first stages of the war, our heroes and statesmen sealed with their blood the principles they had sworn to maintain; where a disciplined enemy received from a hardy, untutored yeomanry a lesson which produced the most beneficial consequences through the whole of the Revolutionary War,—is worthy the care of the patriot and statesman. The splendid column on Bunker Hill will unite principles with history, patriotism with glory. It will be read by all; its moral will strike deep in the heart, and leave an indelible impression on the mind. The trust is too sacred, the work too important, to rest exclusively in the charge of individuals; it should be a common property, in which every citizen should have a right; as it will be the pride, it should also be the property, of the Commonwealth.”

Governor Eustis, however, did not live to see his recommendations acted upon. He died a few days



after the delivery of his address, February 6, 1825. He was succeeded by the Lieutenant-Governor, Marcus Morton, who occupied the Chair of State until June 8, when Levi Lincoln was first inaugurated as Governor. Governor Eustis served as surgeon in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and he was made an honorary member of the Association. He felt strongly the importance of designing a Monument which should be worthy of the approval and the adoption of the State, even looking at the probable contingency of the State's being called upon to finish it. He expressed in a letter his determination to subscribe to the object after the session of the Legislature; but his benevolent purpose was left unfulfilled, as is too often the case with many who postpone too late the execution of their good intentions.

The Committee employed much time in selecting the leading men of the State and of the country for active or honorary membership, and Mr. Everett, in his careful and elegant manner, forwarded the notices, accompanied generally with a note of explanation. Dr. William E. Channing gave in his reply a good reason for declining: —

DEAR SIR, — I have such a consciousness that I should be an inefficient member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, that I feel as if I should do wisely to decline the election with which I have been honored. I accepted a similar appointment for the Washington Monument, and, am sorry to say, did nothing.

Very truly your friend and servant,

W. E. CHANNING.

Boston, Sept. 14, 1824.

The responses which came back varied from the highest tone of encouragement to the frank expression of great doubt as to the success of the effort, and even to a sturdy and bold disapproval of the measure. Nothing could better illustrate the different shades of feeling of the time, and the courage, resolute and persistent, of the promoters of the great patriotic object, than a selection from these responses.

Professor Silliman, of Yale College, writing from Hartford, expressed his views of the way to collect money for the object in Connecticut:—

HARTFORD, Jan. 20, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — After receiving your letter of November 10, I conversed with some of our principal gentlemen respecting the practicability of executing the views of your committee. It was their opinion that, although something might be done with individuals, it would be difficult to get up any general excitement on the subject; and I could not find a person willing to undertake the management of the affair. I am sorry to say this, as perhaps it does not redound much to our honour. Still, I am of opinion, with the gentlemen whom I consulted, that, if an agent is going around to call on individuals, that there are many scattered through our towns who would give their five dollars and their ten dollars, and some more; but I believe it would be requisite to send some one to call on them at their houses.

I remain, dear sir, very truly and respectfully yours,

B. SILLIMAN.

Rev. Prof. EVERETT.

Judge White, of Salem, thought that the scheme, though highly laudable, was far beyond any hope of its being accomplished by individual effort:—

SALEM, Sept. 24, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor, informing me that I have been elected a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. This is an honor of which I am duly sensible, and which I should feel no disposition to decline, if my acceptance of it be not considered as a pledge of active and efficient exertions in promoting the highly laudable object of the Association ; for such a pledge, I fear, it would not be in my power to redeem. I should delight to see this object accomplished by the aid of the government, or the spontaneous contributions of opulent individuals ; but I could not feel the same freedom in soliciting pecuniary aid for it as for some other less splendid, but more immediately useful and necessary, public objects.

With great respect and regard, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

D. A. WHITE.

REV. EDWARD EVERETT, *Sec. of Board Directors.*

On the contrary, Mr. Knapp, a popular writer and lecturer, was enthusiastic in his faith that it would succeed: —

DEAR SIR, — I have received the notice of my being elected a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and also your polite note of the 8th instant. The object of the Association is near my heart ; and I am happy to see men of talents, enterprise, and perseverance, and these men extensively known, engaged in the cause. There cannot be the least doubt of complete success. The fulness of time has come for the event ; but no efforts of mine, however humble, shall be wanting to impress upon the minds of my friends the utility and glory of the undertaking. I hope there will be no reason for delaying the commencement of the work beyond the time contemplated, as the heroes of '75 are falling like the leaves of the season around us, and all of them will soon be gone.

With high consideration and respect, I am your obedient and humble servant,

SAML. L. KNAPP.

E. EVERETT, Esq.

Oct. 12, 1824.

Mr. Peck believed in the scheme as tending to purify politics: —

SALEM, Sept. 20, 1824.

SIR, — I received your favor of the 8th inst., informing me of my being elected a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. There are few pursuits in which I should engage with more pleasure than in the furtherance of the objects of this Association. The corruption of partisan leaders renders it peculiarly important, at this moment, that as frequent recurrence as possible, direct and indirect, should be had to the feelings and principles of the American Revolution. The Association shall have all the little aid and influence in my power in carrying into effect the designs of the incorporation.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLARD PECK.

Professor EVERETT, *Secretary*, &c.

Was there ever a time in the history of our country when somebody did not raise the cry of "Corruption" among our rulers? This is doubtless the eternal vigilance by which our liberties are sustained.

A citizen of South Carolina, and a graduate of Harvard College, promised his co-operation: —

CHARLESTON, Feb. 7, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — It afforded me sincere pleasure to be favored with your communications relating to the Bunker Hill Monument, which I lost no time in making known to the gentlemen of New England resident here, as well as to all

others friendly to the honorable undertaking. We are collecting subscriptions, in pursuance of the proceedings at a public meeting, which you have probably seen in the newspapers; and calculate, with great confidence, to get one hundred subscribers at five dollars each. I am, therefore, desired to request you to transmit to me one hundred certificates; if any of which shall remain unused, such shall be returned to you. But of this latter contingency I feel no fear.

I pray you to return my most sincere thanks to the Directors of the Association for their complimentary selection of me as their organ on this interesting occasion, and to assure them of my cordial co-operation in their praiseworthy views. We are in hopes of sending on to you, at the anniversary, one of our respectable citizens, who had the good fortune to be present, in command of a field-piece, on the day of the battle.

With my best wishes for all that concerns you, I remain, dear sir, your obliged friend and servant,

WILLIAM CRAFTS.

Professor EVERETT.

Another citizen of that State expressed his approval: —

S. C., GOLDEN GROVE P.O., June 2, 1825.

SIR, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 12th of April last (which only came to hand a few days since). I should not do justice to my own feelings were I not to acknowledge the honor conferred in being elected a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. It has, and I trust will always, afford me great pleasure to be associated with my fellow-citizens in perpetuating events as highly interesting to American freedom as the memorable battle at Bunker's Hill.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN WILSON.

A Biographer in New Hampshire thought the proposed Monument unnecessary, inasmuch as the lives of distinguished men could be written, which would make, in his view, better monuments: —

EPPING, N.H., April 5, 1825.

SIR, — By the mail of yesterday I received your letter of the 22d ultimo, informing me that I was elected an honorary member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and requesting my answer whether I would accept the appointment.

A considerable portion of my life has been, and still is, devoted to raising a *monument* to the memory of those who contributed their aid in effecting our deliverance from foreign domination, and laying a foundation for the freest and best government that exists. The monument the Association propose to build will be expensive and splendid, and of the hardest and most durable granite; but mine will be the work of an unassuming biographer, and, instead of imperishable stone, will consist of fragile paper, bearing the impression of types. I mention these facts to show that I am friendly to erecting what I consider the most *useful* monuments to the memory of departed worth, and to incite men of other times to serve their country.

Without deciding the question, whether the time and money, that must necessarily be expended in raising the monument the Association propose, could be more *usefully* appropriated in improving the state and condition of our country, and in ameliorating the wants and sufferings of humanity, I must decline the honor of being considered a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

I am respectfully, sir, your obedient,

WILLIAM PLUMER.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq., Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, Boston, Mass.

It remained for Caleb Stark to denounce the proposed Monument, because Congress had not dealt justly with the Revolutionary soldiers, — of which number he was one: —

PEMBROKE, April 10, 1825.

SIR, — Your circular of 22d ult., on the subject of the Bunker Hill Monument, arrived at maturity, but found me extremely debilitated by a severe fever, or you would have had a prompt answer; and, although extremely emaciated, I seize upon the earliest moment of ability to give you my determination.

In the first instance, I never was very partial to societies, never having been a member of but two in my life, — one of them of a transient character, which has long since passed off; the other of a permanent character, where I still remain. But, whatever my inclination would have led me to in other cases, I have powerful national objections to the adoption of this project, for the following reasons: First, those who made this notable stand on this sanguinary hill have almost all passed to those shades where military honors are not more highly appreciated than they have been in the United States; secondly, the actors in this bloody scene (the Revolutionary War), after having performed their part in a manner perhaps unparalleled in ancient or modern history, were refused by the government the rewards that were so solemnly promised in the hour of the most critical danger: and, while the government has found ways and means to satisfy all other legal and many illegal demands, they still continue a deaf ear to the crying demands for justice claimed by the disbanded officer and soldier. And now, sir, in room of giving them the bread that was solemnly promised, the debt is to be paid by a stone!! It is not to be denied, that, after a lapse of forty years, fourteen thousand of the soldiers who were State paupers have been transferred to the United States; but the utmost care has been taken to preclude all others from the just claims due by the high national compact on the one side,

and the discharged soldier on the other. These considerations have induced me to think that it would redound more to the honor of this rising, powerful nation to obliterate every vestige of the Revolution rather than have such a foul stain of ingratitude and injustice coupled with the heroic deeds, privations, and sufferings of the authors of the Revolution.

I pray you to tender my most grateful thanks to the committee for the honor of their election, and regret that the circumstances will not allow me to join the Association.

With considerations of the highest respect and personal esteem, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

CALEB STARK.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq.

But the Governor of New Hampshire took a different view of the matter, as his letter testifies: —

GOFFSTOWN, N. H., May 23, 1825.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

Sir, — I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you, by which I am informed that I have been elected an honorary member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and also one of the Board of Directors, for which you will present my thanks to that body. It would be peculiarly gratifying to me to attend the Anniversary of the Seventeenth of June; but the sitting of our legislature at that time will preclude the possibility of my enjoying the occasion. I enclose a small sum, \$20.00, for the benefit of the object; and it would have been pleasant to have manifested more liberality, had my present circumstances rendered it convenient.

I am with great respect your most obedient and very humble servant,

DAVID LAWRENCE MORRIL.

Nehemiah Hubbard, of Middletown, Connecticut, conscientiously declined the appointment of honorary member in the following language: "Being now in



the seventy-fourth year of my age, I feel it a duty I cannot dispense with, to use my influence and pecuniary means to objects, in my opinion, more useful to mankind."

Governor Wolcott, of Connecticut, was, however, desirous that his State should contribute to it: —

HARTFORD, June 2, 1825.

SIR, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th of April, 1825, with information that I have been elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. In accepting the honorable trust which has thus been conferred on me, I regret that it is not in my power to render more efficient aid to the patriotic Association of which the Board have constituted me a member.

After a consultation in this place, agreeably to the promise made in my letter of March 26, I was advised to leave the contributions from this State to the voluntary aids of individuals, without any public solicitation on my part. I have since seen Mr. Hale; and I trust that he will succeed in obtaining a sum which, though inferior to what is desirable, may yet be worthy of your acceptance.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

OLIVER WOLCOTT.

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, Esq., Cambridge, Mass.

A Bostonian in Paris expressed his desire to promote the object: —

PARIS, 26 November, 1825.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq., Boston.

DEAR SIR, — A press of business has prevented me sooner acknowledging the receipt of your letter, by which you announce to me my election as a member of the Bunker Hill Association.

I beg to assure you, sir, that I accept this appointment with sentiments of great respect; and I feel much gratification at knowing that my name is associated with those who are taking means to perpetuate the remembrance of an event which marked the destinies of the nation.

I shall use my endeavors to increase the number of subscribers by applying to the Americans who may be in Paris. At present, I am requested by Mr. Ebenezer May to cause his name to be added; and you will receive from my friend, Mr. J. C. Brown, the amount of his subscription.

I am, dear sir, with great respect, your obedient, humble servant,

THO. W. STORROW.

Mr. Somerville, a prominent citizen of Maryland, who was about to represent the country as *Chargé d’Affaires* at the Swedish Court, sent his acceptance and good wishes: —

BALTIMORE, Aug. 23, 1825.

SIR, — I regret that your letter of the 29th of March has only just been received. It reached my residence in Virginia whilst I was in Philadelphia, and by accident was not forwarded to me during my illness at Bedford.

I beg you to express my thanks to the Standing Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the honor they did me in electing me an honorary member of that institution. I am apprehensive, however, that my acceptance of the compliment is too late, as the celebration of your jubilee is passed. If not, I shall be gratified to learn whether the articles of your Association impose any particular duties on its honorary members. I am on the eve of embarking from New York for Europe; and, after my departure, any communication under cover to the Secretary of State will probably reach me, either before or after my arrival at Stockholm.

With the highest respect, sir, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WM. C. SOMERVILLE.

Governor James Pleasants, of Virginia, accepted honorary membership, with appropriate words of encouragement: —

RICHMOND, 13th June, 1825.

SIR, — Your letter, dated as long ago as the 12th April, reached this place in due course of mail. I was on a visit to the country at the time; and it by accident got out of place, and escaped my observation till a day or two past. I accept, sir, with great pleasure, the honor of membership conferred on me by the Standing Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and hope to live long enough to be able to visit the spot on which it will be erected, — a spot which would call up in my mind an association of ideas of a character the most highly gratifying and cheering. Be pleased, sir, to present me most respectfully to the worthy members of the Standing Committee, and believe me to be, most truly, your obedient servant,

JAMES PLEASANTS.

E. EVERETT.

A citizen of Baltimore, of New England origin, disclosed the lukewarm state of feeling there, even among his brother New Englanders: —

BALTIMORE, April 25, 1825.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 26th December came to hand. I feel flattered at the enclosed certificate of membership to the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Although I have not before replied to your letter, you must not attribute it to any indifference on my part to the object of the Association, or a want of personal regard to yourself, either of which would be unjust, and a subject of the greatest regret to me. The true reason is, that, on submitting the letter and documents to most of the New England residents here, it was received in so cold a manner that I hardly knew in what way to answer it. This unwillingness to subscribe arises princi-

pally from the peculiar situation in which they are placed ; having, as you well know, constantly to contribute largely (for their means) to keep that splendid edifice from falling to the ground in which Mr. Sparks formerly officiated. How much longer, even with their almost unprecedented liberality, they will be able to keep it up, is quite uncertain. However, there are some who are anxious to become members ; and, if you will forward me twenty or thirty blank certificates, I will fill them up, and send you a list of the names, with a remittance for the amount subscribed. Should I then want more, I will send for them.

With great respect, your obedient servant and friend,

R. H. OSGOOD.

Fortunately, a native of Baltimore, engaged in a like undertaking, felt a special interest in this: —

BALTIMORE, 10th April, 1825.

SIR, — I feel extremely flattered by the honor conferred on me by the Standing Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association in electing me an honorary member of that respectable and praiseworthy institution, and accept the distinction with much pleasure.

Being myself deeply interested in a similar object here, as President of the Washington Monument Association, I cannot but desire that every success should attend the execution of your plans, towards which I shall have much gratification in contributing in any manner which may lie in my power.

Accept, sir, my best wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me to be very truly yours,

ROBERT GILMER.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq., *Sec. of S. C. B. H. Association.*

Often the same slow mail brought both discouragement and good cheer. What more approving than those precious letters, *fac-simile* copies of which are placed in this volume !





*Edward Everett.*

cases, we  
in position,  
to be at a

color, to  
himself one  
original of  
other countries  
own:—

Be

—I have an  
Butter H. V. out from  
The resolution of as we a  
that makes we turn toward our

\_\_\_\_\_



...





## CHAPTER V.

A Nation's character is the sum of its splendid deeds; they constitute one common patrimony, the Nation's inheritance.

**W**HILE MR. EVERETT addressed the letters of the Committee, joined with his special indorsement, to the leading men of every State, it could not have been expected that hearty responses would be received from all. Nor could they have been surprised if, in some cases, where they might have relied upon a hearty co-operation, or a God-speed, they got back for answer cold discouragement, or even an absolute refusal to have any thing to do with the scheme. Following upon such rebuffs, a letter like the following, offering aid unsolicited, must have been exceedingly welcome. The writer was a brother of William Tudor, the prime originator of the Monument, and himself one of the most enterprising of men, and the originator of the transportation of ice to India and other countries where the luxury of ice was before unknown:—

Boston, Nov. 12, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — I have an impression that aid may be obtained for our Bunker Hill Monument from Bostonians and other New-Englanders resident abroad, as we all know with what peculiar fondness we turn homeward our recollections

when away, and the exultation which we feel in any thing which honors and adorns the country we love. There are, in many distant countries, numbers of our townsmen who have enriched themselves, but who have so long been absent that they are lost to us in every thing except those good feelings of which I have spoken. These are vivid, and probably will remain to the last, nor perish when they die. We have forgotten them, but they cherish the remembrance of us. I cannot but think it would be worth the attempt to invite them to the general contribution which is to be made; and I take the liberty of tendering my services, if properly authorized by the Association, to ask of such as I am personally acquainted with, and others through them, for assistance towards the completion of an object so highly interesting.

I am, very respectfully,

FREDERIC TUDOR.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq.

Judge Daggett, Professor in the Law School in New Haven, and a native of Attleboro', Massachusetts, promptly sent his grateful contribution to an object that touched his heart: —

NEW HAVEN, April 22, 1825.

Sir, — Your letter of 16th March last, informing me that I was "elected an honorary member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association," was duly received. I cannot promise much "influence or aid in carrying into effect the design of the incorporation," though I accept with pleasure this mark of respect. I have requested my friends, Munson and Barnard, to pay you ten dollars towards this object. Proud of the thousand institutions of my native State, and feeling a lively interest in an association so suited to commemorate the glory of Bunker Hill, it would gratify me to be able to contribute more of my substance and somewhat of my aid towards it.

Accept the assurance of my respect.

DAVID DAGGETT.

The Hon. Mr. EVERETT.

A citizen of South Carolina, and a distinguished diplomat, sent his liberal token:—

LUBECK, April 22, 1825.

TO EDWARD EVERETT, Esq.

Sir, — Your favor of the 22d ult., informing me I had been elected a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, I received yesterday. I thank my fellow-citizens for the honor they have conferred on me in adopting me one of the members of that society. I enclose a draft on Nathaniel Goddard, of Boston, for \$10, which I request the Association to accept of to forward the object they have in view. Every thing relative to the transactions of that memorable day, the 17th of June, 1775, commands my attention. I enclose a letter to my friend Goddard, which I wish may accompany the draft.

I pray you, Mr. Secretary, to accept of the assurance of my very respectful and high esteem.

L. TRESCOTT.

Mr. Bartlett, a leading member of the New Hampshire Bar, sent his donation, with a promise of further aid in other ways:—

PORTSMOUTH, April 19, 1825.

SIR, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 22d, informing me that I have been elected an honorary member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. My absence from home has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your favor. It will give me pleasure to aid, so far as in my power, the designs of that institution. Please add to its funds the small sum, \$10, enclosed, and accept my best wishes, with the promise of my best efforts for the success of its object.

With great respect, I am your obedient servant,

ICHABOD BARTLETT.

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, *Secretary, &c.*

Robert G. Shaw, whose name is identified with almost every great charity and benevolent institution in Boston which solicited aid during the half-century in which he flourished, sent his subscription, with a pledge, which he afterwards redeemed:—

Oct. 13, 1824.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq.

DEAR SIR,— I received a notification to meet a few gentlemen this evening, at the Marlboro' Hotel, on the subject of the Bunker Hill Monument. My absence from the city will prevent my attendance. At the same time allow me to say, that no one feels more interest than I do in the accomplishment of the object of the meeting, and I shall be ready at all times to evince this in any way in my power. If a subscription is to be made this evening, you will please to put my name down for one hundred dollars, with a pledge that, if a further subscription should be called for, I am ready to go to twice or even thrice this sum in promoting so laudable an object. And I assure you that I feel much obliged to the *active* promoters of it. Next to the worthies who risked their *all* on the memorable 17th of June, they are entitled to my thanks for their patriotic exertions.

With much respect, dear sir, your obedient humble servant,

ROB. G. SHAW.

Hon. James Lloyd, then United States Senator from Massachusetts, without waiting to be waited upon by the Committee, sent his subscription in the following graceful note:—

BOSTON, Oct. 4, 1824.

Mr. Lloyd, with his respects, informs Mr. Everett, that he had the honor to receive a notice, under Sept. 1, 1824, of his having been elected a member of the Bunker Hill Association,— the concluding sentence of which appeared to him

to preclude not only the necessity, but the expectation, of a reply. He mentions this merely, as the certificate has not yet reached him, lest his silence should have been misconstrued into a disinclination he does not feel, — to become a member of the society.

Mr. Lloyd will not trouble the committee to send him the subscription-book, as intimated in Mr. Everett's note, which has just reached him. The committee will be pleased to consider him as a subscriber for one hundred dollars, to be paid whenever requested.

Prof. EVERETT, *Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

John Lowell, the defender of Putnam's honored name, a distinguished lawyer and an eloquent speaker and writer, sent also, unsolicited, his subscription: —

ROXBURY, Oct. 3, 1824.

Prof. EVERETT, *Secretary of the Bunker Hill Association,*

DEAR SIR, — I cannot have the vanity to believe that any opinion of mine will promote the subscriptions to a national work, — a work which ought not to require any recommendation. I cannot recollect what I did say; and I am sure that I should have written a letter with more care, if I had supposed that it would be published. But, as I have the most implicit confidence in the committee, I submit to their discretion the few remarks I made, to be used as they may think proper. You are authorized to subscribe for me one hundred dollars towards this object. This will spare you the trouble of sending the subscription book to my house.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, your friend and humble servant,

J. LOWELL.

The letter referred to was written the month before, and it contained the following sentiments worthy of perpetual remembrance: "I entirely approve of

the design of commemorating the greatest and most decisive event of our Revolution, an event which does not rest, as the reputed source of Swiss liberty does, on fable; but on better and more authentic grounds than any of the boasted exploits of Greece and Rome. I think that it should be marked by a monument worthy of the heroism which was there displayed, and of the momentous consequences which followed from it. If that small band had retired without striking a blow, the army at Cambridge might have been dispersed, and no man can now say whether our Revolution might not have been retarded to this day."

Thus wrote Rev. John Codman, D.D., who in this cause stood at the head of the clergy: —

DORCHESTER, Oct. 15, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — I received your favor of the 8th inst., informing me of my election as a member of the *Bunker Hill Monument Association*.

The patriotic object of this Association must commend itself to every friend of his country, and has powerful claims upon those who have it in their power to aid its complete accomplishment.

I cheerfully enclose a check for \$100.

I am, very respectfully, your friend and servant,

JOHN CODMAN.

Rev. Professor EVERETT.

The gallant Commodore William Bainbridge enclosed in his letter, a *fac-simile* of which appears elsewhere, his check for one hundred dollars.

In unhappy contrast with the foregoing individual subscriptions is the subjoined letter, giving an account of the first canvass for subscriptions in the City of New York: —

NEW YORK, May 20, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — I had the honor to receive, in due course, your letter of the 26th December, accompanied by the circular addresses of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and the certificate of membership which the Association had done me the favor to fill up in my name.

I had, some time before, had the pleasure of conversing with Mr. Webster on this subject; and I had then hoped that, amongst those resident here who derive their origin from New England, a considerable number would be found who, participating in the views of the Association, would be desirous of enrolling themselves as members of it by at least some small contribution to its funds.

In consulting with one or two of our friends on the best manner of proceeding in collecting subscribers, it was thought advisable not to attempt larger subscriptions than five dollars, and a few of us put down our own names accordingly; hoping that, in fixing on so small a sum, we should find a general disposition to follow us. We then called attention to the subject by publication in the newspapers, and placed our book at one of the principal bookstores, and subsequently took the additional measure of sending the book round to a selected list of more than seventy names; but our success, as you will perceive by the annexed list, has been utterly insignificant. Most of those called upon seemed to think the object too local and too distant to claim their participation.

In so limited a list of contributors, I presume no regular deputation will be appointed to join in the celebration on the 17th of June next; but I am sure all of us will appreciate the obliging invitation which you have communicated.

I have to request you will have the goodness to send me blank certificates for the names at foot, which I will take care

to see filled up and distributed. The net amount of our collection is \$86 $\frac{25}{100}$ , for which I beg leave to hand you a draft enclosed.

I am, with great respect and esteem, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

JONA. GOODHUE.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

The item of postage came to be a burdensome matter to the Committee, especially to Mr. Everett, the Secretary, who, it appears, must have defrayed a considerable amount at his own private expense. It cost then to send a letter by mail the shortest distance, from Boston to Charlestown, for instance, and up to thirty miles, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  cents; from that up to eighty miles, 10 cents; from that up to one hundred and fifty miles, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents; from that up to four hundred miles, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents; and over four hundred miles, 25 cents, and the same rate for every piece of paper additional. Mr. Everett sought to obtain relief from the Post-office Department, by inquiring if printed circulars could be mailed for pamphlet postage. The Postmaster-General, who was afterwards Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, gave the following answer: —

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT, 11th October, 1824.

SIR, — I have received your favor of the 5th instant. The law does not authorize me to exercise a discretion in remitting the postage on letters or documents. If I could use such a discretion, there is no case in which it could be more properly exercised than the one named in your letter.

The proof-sheets of Cleaveland's "Mineralogy" were not exempted from postage; but they were believed to come under the definition of pamphlets, and were directed to be



Richmond May 3. 1858

Sir

A temporary absence from Richmond prevented  
my receiving your letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> of March until a  
day or two past, and will be my apology for not  
answering it sooner. I am much honoured by him

Yours

Honble

PAID 25

Edward Everett

Boston

charged with postage as such. This was a different construction of the law from what had prevailed in the Department, but I have no doubt of its correctness.

Any communications which your Association may wish to make by mail, which by their form and matter come properly under the definition of pamphlets, will, of course, be charged with no more than pamphlet postage.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN MCLEAN.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esquire, Boston.

Your circular was not enclosed. I thank you for your excellent oration.

The oration referred to was undoubtedly the one delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, August 26, preceding, in the presence of Lafayette.

The following letter expressed an apprehension of the safety of the mail, which turned out to be unfounded, as soon after it was sent the writer received the proper acknowledgment: —

PORTSMOUTH, June 6, 1825.

SIR, — On the 19th of April, I answered your letter of 22d March, and enclosed a ten-dollar bill of United States Bank, as my *mite* to the Bunker Hill Monument; but, not having received any notice of its reception, it probably did not get through the post-offices. It was directed to Boston. The amount is of less consequence than the conduct of the post-officers at this place or Boston.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

ICHABOD BARTLETT.

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT.

It serves, however, to illustrate the various little details with which Mr. Everett was exercised in per-

forming his arduous duties as Secretary. We can readily perceive what a drag and clog upon all enterprise, and upon social and business correspondence was this excessive postage. Then the slowness of the mail by the stage-coach in those days!

The great event of the half-century was referred to in the following letter from Abbott Lawrence, who made an appropriate suggestion with regard to the Association: —

Boston, Aug. 7th, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — The Marquis has at last arrived at New York, and probably will soon be here. Now, would it not be well, while he is here, to have a general subscription among all classes of our citizens, for the erection of a Monument upon Bunker Hill? Feelings in the community will be excited, which, perhaps, never will again be felt; and it does appear to me that there will not again be so favorable a moment to collect money as when the Marquis is here. I have mentioned the subject to several persons in quite middling circumstances, and all approve the object and say they will give. In the mean time, I apprehend great benefit would arise if some person who is ready with his pen (Mr. Everett, for example) to address the public through the newspapers. I merely make these suggestions to you, with a hope something may soon be done to accomplish at least a part of our mutual wishes in relation to the Monument.

I am, dear sir, truly your obedient servant,

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

Col. S. D. HARRIS.

Indeed, the arrival of Lafayette, in compliance with the earnest invitation of the National Government, was a most joyful occasion, and his presence was

besought and greeted throughout the land. It was the crowning happiness and glory of the first half-century of the Republic. The Standing Committee decided that this was the most fitting time to make an earnest appeal in behalf of the Monument to every town in Massachusetts. General William Sullivan was appointed to prepare the Address. He was the younger brother of Richard Sullivan, and a distinguished lawyer, publicist, and scholar. He submitted the Address to the Committee, which was unanimously approved. It was found to suit the feeling of the time,—patriotic, trumpet-toned, soul-stirring. It was issued in the following form, with the request that the Selectmen would cause it to be read in open town meeting, at the November election:—

*Address of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to the Selectmen of the several Towns in Massachusetts.*

Boston, Oct. 1, 1824.

At a meeting of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the committee appointed to prepare an exposition of the views and objects of this Association, to be transmitted, with a subscription-book, to the selectmen of the several towns in the State, reported an Address. The same having been read and considered, it was voted unanimously that it be accepted.

*Voted*, That Dr. John C. Warren, together with the committee aforesaid, sign the Address in behalf of the Directors, and cause the same to be printed in the first pages of the subscription-books, and transmitted to the several towns.

Attest:

(Signed)

EDWARD EVERETT,

*Secretary pro tem. of the Board of Directors.*

BOSTON, Oct. 1, 1824.

*To the Selectmen.*

GENTLEMEN, — The American Revolution may be justly considered as one of those remarkable events designed by a wise and beneficent Providence to change and to improve the condition of mankind. Its original *causes* lie far back in the history of our Fathers. Its consequences are gradually disclosing themselves throughout the civilized world. But its *immediate causes*, and the AGENTS *by whom they were directed*, are the peculiar objects of our attention at present.

We all know that the Parent Country exercised its power over these remote colonies in a manner which its inhabitants held to be unjust, unreasonable, and intolerable. A series of complaints, petitions, and remonstrances produced no other consequence than to bring over an armed force, to awe the colonists to submission. They soon found themselves subjected to an odious tyranny of *hired soldiers*. The indignation universally felt could not be always restrained; and it sometimes broke forth in acts of hostility between the colonists and the military power. As the spirit of resistance increased, the number of soldiers was augmented, until, in the spring of 1775, several regiments, as well as some ships of war, were assembled at Boston.

The thoughtful colonists foresaw that scenes of violence and bloodshed must follow, unless they submitted themselves *unconditionally* to the will of the Mother Country. They could not, they would not, so submit. But they knew that the country was not prepared for an appeal to arms. There was no armed force but *the militia*, — no magazines, no military stores, no ammunition but the little which was provided in time of profound peace, no experienced men qualified to meet a trained and well-prepared foe. Certainly, no means could be imagined of contending against the whole power of Great Britain, which might be brought to act on the country. In this desponding and hopeless state, it pleased the ALMIGHTY to inspire their hearts with courage according to their necessities. What they wanted in numbers, and in prepara-

tion for war, was abundantly made up to them in confidence in the righteousness of their cause, and in the manly resolution *to die with honor if they could not live without disgrace*.

On the 19th of April, '75, the British sent a body of troops from Boston, to destroy some powder and provisions at Concord. These troops, while passing through Lexington, wantonly fired upon and killed a number of the inhabitants. Some hastily assembled militiamen ventured to oppose themselves to the regulars at Concord, and there the first blood was shed between the British and the *armed* Americans. The dreadful scenes of this memorable day roused the spirit of the country; and *the militia* came from different quarters, with any and whatever means they had, for conflict.

To divert the British from fortifying themselves on Dorchester Heights, it was deemed necessary to send a force, from the headquarters at Cambridge, to take possession of the heights in Charlestown. Under cover of the night of the 16th of June, 1775, this detachment proceeded silently and cautiously, and with such arms and implements as they had, and with a very small supply of powder, to take possession of the hills, and spend the night in the hurried labor of preparing for themselves *some intrenchment* against the probable attack of the British. Poorly prepared, and wearied with labor, they met the shock, on the following day, of the picked and chosen men of the British army.

The consequences of the cool, undaunted, astonishing bravery displayed on that day *we now feel and enjoy*; and they will continue to be felt and enjoyed so long as we and our descendants shall be worthy of the name of FREEMEN.

It is among *these consequences* that we are now the citizens of a free and independent republic, *not* the degraded and despised subjects of despotic royal power;

That we live under laws made by rulers chosen from among ourselves, *not* under the orders of arbitrary authority, enforced by a ferocious soldiery;

That we dwell in security in our peaceful homes, in the full enjoyment of the fruits of our labor, *instead* of being

liable to arbitrary taxation, and to personal service in wars of ambition, in which we could have no advantage, though subject to the most distressing evils ;

That the community of which we are members is thriving, and expanding with the impulses of civil freedom, not creeping through a humble existence, in the constraint of colonial dependence ;

In short, that we are citizens of a free, powerful, and increasing nation, *not* a remote and insignificant appendage to a kingdom, and ruled by mandates issuing from a *throne* three thousand miles from our homes.

What of gratitude, reverence, and affection do we not owe, fellow-citizens, to our countrymen who assembled and met the British on Bunker Hill on the seventeenth of June ! It is to their manly resistance that we owe the precious blessings we call our own, — ALL, ALL that we hold dear. Had they turned and fled, as the British believed they would ; had a panic spread through the country from their flight, — might, might not the germ of liberty have been crushed in the bud, and the history of our country have been stained with disgraceful military executions, instead of being read, as it now is, with emotions of inexpressible thanksgiving and praise ?

It is in honor of that *glorious day* that it is now proposed to raise a monument worthy of those we commemorate, and to remind successive generations of the deeds of our Fathers, and to evince the just and heartfelt gratitude of the present time. It is known to you that the design of ERECTING A MONUMENT has long been in contemplation. It has been held to be some reproach to us all that it has been so long delayed. As the FIFTIETH YEAR from the day of this memorable battle is to close on the next seventeenth of June, it has been deemed, by a number of citizens, highly desirable that an effort should be made to purchase *the battle-ground*, and to be prepared to lay the corner-stone *on that day*. These citizens, animated by the assurance that their patriotic efforts would be readily seconded by all other citizens throughout the State, assumed the labor and responsibility of carrying this design into effect.



They obtained an act of incorporation, to enable them to purchase and to hold the land on which the battle was fought, with a provision to cede it *to the State* when it shall have been adorned with a monument, raised by the grateful contributions of the people throughout the Commonwealth. It is the design of the corporation to erect a column of *two hundred and twenty feet in height*, of hewn granite, containing in its centre a circular stair-way, by which it may be ascended to the top.

The corporation cherish the hope that the means of accomplishing the object in view will have been so far realized that the land will have been purchased, and that, after suitable notice of the occasion by public address, and after solemn thanksgiving to the Almighty Disposer of human events, the CORNER-STONE may be laid *on the seventeenth of June next*, in the presence of the VENERABLE AMERICANS who fought this battle, and who may yet be living. How affecting must this *scene* be to THEM; contrasting, as they must do, their feelings on that day of peril and destruction with those that will rush on their noble minds on beholding this solemn tribute of gratitude and honor!

It is a part of the design of the corporation to collect and preserve all printed and manuscript and personal histories of these early scenes of the Revolutionary War, and the arms and implements which were used in these scenes, and which will otherwise soon be lost in the destroying progress of time. It is greatly to be regretted that this labor has not been earlier undertaken. *It is not too late.* Individuals yet live who can describe facts which they saw, and scenes in which they acted, so strange and heroic that they resemble ingenious fables, or the dreams of romance, rather than the realities of authentic history. A suitable apartment for the deposit and preservation of these various relics and histories will be deposited and preserved, — the original subscription-books, arranged according to counties and towns, that the names and places of abode of those who join in this tribute of respect and gratitude may be for ever known. It is also intended to erect a suitable monument at Concord, where the

first conflict was had, bearing proper inscriptions to commemorate the glorious spirit of independence which manifested itself *there, and the names of the men who fell there*, and whose memory should be for ever cherished and honored.

It is ascertained, as nearly as can be by careful computation, that the purchase of the land, and the entire completion of the whole design, will require an expenditure of SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS. To raise this sum, a subscription-book has been prepared for every town in the State, and transmitted to the care of the selectmen in each town, accompanied with a circular letter, respectfully recommending the mode of obtaining subscriptions, and of collecting and transmitting the money to the treasurer of the corporation.

Lately, when General Lafayette was on *Bunker Hill*, the nature of the Bunker Hill Monument Association was explained to him. He expressed his wish to subscribe. His name stands at the head of the list. He was requested not to place any sum against his name, and so it remains. It was the intention of the Association that the sum to be placed against the name of *Lafayette* should be the whole amount of all the sums which the *little children* throughout the State might subscribe or give to the erection of the monument. We thus give to these *little ones* an opportunity of testifying their gratitude to this EXCELLENT MAN and NOBLE BENEFACTOR of their country ; while the aggregate amount, so placed as his subscription, will probably be such a sum as would well become the munificent heart and patriotic wishes of Lafayette.

It is with exceeding pleasure that the citizens who have taken the responsible labor of organizing and giving effect to the public sentiment can declare that they have received every desirable support and encouragement from all persons whose attention has been called to this object.

There is no longer a doubt that a monument will rise on the spot where the battle of the *seventeenth of June, '75*, was fought. As it will commemorate the GREATEST EVENT in the history of civil liberty, it should be, *and shall be*, the GRAND-EST MONUMENT IN THE WORLD.

Such a monument will not only carry down to distant ages the memory of illustrious deeds: it will also remind the generations, as they rise, of the origin of their social rights; it will proclaim to them, with awful grandeur, the sacred duty of preserving *unimpaired* the FREEDOM which was purchased with PRECIOUS BLOOD.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society, on the seventeenth of June, 1824, the officers chosen for the year ensuing were the following; [the names are here omitted].

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Society, encouraged by the public sentiment, have proceeded with steady and effectual steps in this great enterprise. It may be truly said that there is but one sentiment, one feeling, throughout the State, and that there is not a heart in all Massachusetts in which that sentiment and feeling will not be found.

We pray leave to refer to the letter of advice which accompanies the subscription-book.

Gentlemen, we have had the honor thus to explain the views of the Association. If you and your townsmen accord in these feelings and sentiments, this Society desires your aid, your approving sanction, and such co-operation as your own feelings and sentiments may dictate.

There is no limitation as to the amount which any individual may contribute. No sum will be too great, none too small. As the blessings of social life belong exclusively neither to age nor to sex, all who dwell in this favored land are alike interested in the proposed monument. But, as many of our fellow-citizens may desire to be members of this Institution, the Directors have established one general rule, alike applicable to all; viz., that all persons who subscribe the sum of FIVE DOLLARS or more shall thereby become members of the Society, and shall be entitled to a certificate of membership, containing an engraved sketch of the action of June 17.

With great respect, your friends and fellow-citizens,

JOHN C. WARREN.  
WILLIAM SULLIVAN.  
H. A. S. DEARBORN.  
EDWARD EVERETT.

It was proposed to send copies of this Address to the settled ministers, that they might read it to their several congregations on Thanksgiving Day; but the ministers did not accede to the proposition. General Sullivan was charged with the duty of procuring the subscription-books containing the Address, and of delivering them to the Selectmen. This was before the day of Adams and of Harnden, when the Express, as a regular means of distributing parcels through every part of the land, was unknown. On an emergency, the stage-coach was resorted to, and the driver was requested to deliver the packages committed to him at his convenience, which did not always happen to be a great convenience to the parties.

General Sullivan brought in requisition the services of his brethren of the Bar in the Commonwealth, by sending the books to them while attending court. He employed two students in his office, one of whom was Rufus Dawes, who, like his father, Judge Thomas Dawes, was a poet, and an elegant writer of prose besides. His letter gives us a vivid account of his exploit: —

PERU, Oct. 28, 1824.

8 o'clock in the evening.

DEAR SIR, — I arrived at Stockbridge yesterday P.M. at 3 o'clock, and was immediately conveyed to Lenox, six miles distant. Mr. Dwight was engaged in court, and the other gentlemen mentioned particularly in your letter were not to be found. I met, however, Mr. Whitney of the Bar, who introduced me to Mr. Gold, of Pittsfield. In ten minutes, one-half of the books were distributed, and the sheriff offered

to take the rest to the court-house, and distribute them likewise immediately, which was of course accepted.

Mr. Gold said that it was not worth while to send me to *Zoar*, there being only eight or ten families residing there. Its Hebrew name signifies its insignificance. *Munroe* is in Franklin County, and there is no such town as *Gore*, it being annexed to some other one. Mr. Gold suggested the *worth while* of sending a book to the *Shakers*, who, in Berkshire, are a public-spirited society, and might contribute largely. I departed at once, business finished, for Pittsfield, as a stage runs directly thence to Northampton, but was obliged to wait till four this afternoon. I have nevertheless saved time and money by this course, and shall be in Boston not till Sunday evening, unless I receive orders through Mr. Pratt to proceed elsewhere. I have not delayed one moment; and, had my motive in travelling been merely to ascertain how far I might travel, I could not have gone more speedily.

From a most uncomfortable desk in a miserable bar-room,

I am your obedient and humble servant,

RUFUS DAWES.

Hon. WILLIAM SULLIVAN.

P. S. Shall be in Northampton at 9 o'clock to-morrow, and shall, if Mr. P. is not there, hasten home.

The book for Stockbridge was sealed without a superscription, and placed with those for Hampden County, which led to my mistake; but, soon after my letter had left, I found out its proper destination, Berkshire, directed and delivered it.

R. D.

General Sullivan transmitted the letter to Dr. Warren, with the following indorsement: —

SUNDAY, 31st.

DR. WARREN.

DEAR SIR, — Dawes and Pratt are returned. All the books are distributed. Out of 316, I suppose at least

280 are now in the hands of the Selectmen. We began on Tuesday morn, and may consider a good deal done in five days, at rather a low rate of expense. In some places, the messengers were well received ; in others, not. My opinion is that no great dependence should be placed on country donations.

W. S.

The books came straggling back, brought sometimes by some private hand, more frequently by the Representative to the General Court, and occasionally by the stage-coach. Here are samples of the return of the Selectmen:—

SANDISFIELD, August 17th, 1825.

To Prof. EDWARD EVERETT.

SIR,— The selectmen of the town of Sandisfield have paid due attention to the subject of the Bunker Hill Monument ; but, the town of Sandisfield being remotely situated, no gentleman feels sufficiently interested to become a subscriber.

We have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servants,

URIAL SMITH,  
THOMAS DEMING,  
JOSEPH SEARS,  
*Selectmen of Sandisfield.*

---

DRACUTT, July 27th, 1825.

SIR,— Your letter of the 11th has been received. The subscription-book for the Bunker Hill Monument was not received by us till June last, in consequence of which we were prevented laying the book before the town at the annual meetings ; and we have not given it that circulation we could wish as yet. We have obtained subscriptions to the amount of \$35, which I shall deliver to yourself, or the treasurer of the Association, on the 9th of August next, together with the subscription-book.

Please to pardon our neglect.

I have the honor to be, sir, for the selectmen of Dracutt,  
your obedient servant,

B. F. VARNUM,  
*Chairman.*

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

---

MANCHESTER, Dec. 27, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—By the politeness of the bearer, Captain Leach, you will receive the book, and money collected here for the Bunker Hill Monument, amounting to sixty-four dollars. The sum has fell short of my expectation. You may rest assured that every exertion on my part to swell the sum has been made. There are many who appear to be void of that gratitude due to our fathers whose blood drenched the hill of Bunker's to make us free.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

ISRAEL FORSTER,  
*Chairman of the Selectmen.*

NATHANIEL P. RUSSELL, Esq.

P. S. Please to send the certificates of membership by Captain Leach.

Judge Story, one of the Vice-Presidents, took special interest in his town, to induce a large number of his townsmen to subscribe the price of membership, and thus obtain those precious "certificates," which were handsomely engraved with a view of the Battle and the *fac-simile* signatures of the officers of the Association.

SALEM, Jan. 7, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — We have not yet closed our subscriptions for the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and we shall not

.

Dear Sir

Monticello July 21. 25

I am very thankful to the Bunkerhill monument association for the honor they have done me in electing me an honorary member of that institution. the occasion, which has given birth to it, forms an epoch in the history of mankind, well worthy of the splendid ceremonies with which its first stone was lately laid and consecrated. the coincidences of circumstances too, was truly fortunate, which permitted it to be laid by the hand of one so illustrious in his participation of the toils and dangers which followed the event it signalises. While I gratefully accept the honorable association proposed to me, I cannot be unaware that age, infirmities, and distance will deprive me of all the means of usefulness to the society. I can only offer them, for the object of the Institution, my best wishes for its success; and to it, members the homage of my great respect and esteem.

Th Jefferson





## CHAPTER VI.

Monuments are the grappling-irons that bind one generation to another.

**G**OVERNOR EUSTIS, as before stated, had made the object of the Bunker Hill Monument Association a conspicuous topic in the address which he pronounced before the Legislature a few days before his untimely death. The Association desired three things,—aid of the Commonwealth in the erection of the proposed monument, in the form of money or its equivalent; authority to take as much of the battle-field as might be deemed desirable by the right of eminent domain, in case they could not obtain a deed of the owner; and the donation of two or more of the cannon belonging to the State, which had been used in the Revolutionary War, to be placed within or around the monument. The Governor deemed it important that the plan of the monument should be submitted to the Legislature for its approval, before any encouragement should be given. But no one seconded that suggestion; and, after his death, no notice was taken of it.

That portion of the Governor's address which related to this subject was referred to a joint special committee, of which Seth Knowles, a senator, was

made chairman, because he was known to be one of the Directors of the Association. He was a successful merchant of Boston, then resident of Charlestown, and connected by marriage with one of the leading families of the latter place. The Committee, after a hearing, gave leave to the Association to bring in a bill. This was drawn by General Sullivan. Mr. Everett, on behalf of the Directors, wrote letters to several members of the two Houses, bespeaking their favorable consideration of the patriotic movement. The bill passed, with an amendment limiting the amount of the stone to be hammered at the state prison gratuitously, to the value of \$10,000, instead of all the stone required for the monument, as reported. The Act is as follows: —

*An Act to aid the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the Bunker Hill Monument Association shall be entitled to have the stone, of which their intended monument may be constructed, hammered and prepared to be used, at the state prison in Charlestown; and the proper officers of the prison are hereby authorized and required to cause the same stone to be hammered and prepared accordingly; and in such form and manner as the Directors of said Association may request. Provided, that the hammering of stone under the provisions of this section shall never exceed in value the sum of ten thousand dollars; and, provided further, that nothing herein contained, shall be so construed, as to prevent or retard the fulfilment of any contract for stone work with any other person or persons whatever.

SECT. 2. Be it further enacted, that whenever the Directors

of said Association shall apply therefor, the Governor and Council be, and they hereby are, authorized and empowered, to cause to be delivered to said Association, the two cannon called the Hancock and Adams, to adorn the intended monument, and to be preserved as the earliest of the *reliques* of the revolutionary struggle; and to deliver, also, for the same purpose, any two other cannon used in the Revolutionary War, and now belonging to the State, as to the Governor and Council may seem proper.

SECT. 3. Be it further enacted, that the Bunker Hill Monument Association be, and the Directors thereof, acting for said Association, hereby are, authorized and empowered to take and to appropriate to the legal uses of said Association, any land on Breed's Hill, in Charlestown, which said Directors may find to be necessary in the design of erecting a monument, and laying out the surrounding ground in the appropriate manner, not exceeding five acres: Provided always, that the said Corporation shall, before the title to said land which shall be so taken shall vest in said Corporation, apply by petition to the Court of Common Pleas, in the county of Middlesex, to have a committee of five disinterested freeholders within the same county, appointed to appraise the land which may be so taken for the uses aforesaid; and the said committee shall be commissioned by said court to perform that duty, and shall be duly sworn to the performance thereof, and having notified all persons known to be interested in said land, to appear at a time and place, to be by said committee appointed, shall proceed to appraise the same, and shall make return into said court under their hand and seals, of their doings, and shall describe the lands taken by said Corporation, by metes and bounds, and the just value thereof in money to each and every individual proprietor thereof; and the return of said committee being accepted by the court, and ordered to be recorded, the said Corporation shall be holden to pay unto said court the full appraised value of the land taken, with all the costs of appraisement; and, on making such payment into court, the title to said land shall vest

in said Corporation. Provided always, that any person or persons, who may be aggrieved by the appraisement of said committee, may move the court that a jury may be impanelled to appraise the value, by their verdict, of the land which may have been taken from such person or persons, and the said court shall proceed to inquire of the said value by the said jury, and it shall be lawful for any two or more of the proprietors from whom land shall have been taken, to join in submitting their joint or respective claims to such jury. And if the said jury shall not, by their verdict, find the value of the land to be greater than said committee shall have appraised the same at, the said former owner or owners shall not recover costs for the trial by jury. But if the said jury shall find the value of the land to be greater than the said committee shall have appraised the same at, the said Corporation shall be adjudged to pay the costs of the trial; that the verdict of the jury being accepted and recorded by the court, the said Corporation shall be entitled to have and hold the land taken, on paying the value found by the jury, into court, with, or without costs, as aforesaid.

SECT. 4. Be it further enacted, that the money paid into court shall be paid out to such person or persons as the court shall find to have been the lawful owners of the land taken by said Corporation, or to the legal representatives of such owners, according to the respective rights which such owners, or their legal representatives, shall make to appear to said court, and that said corporation shall pay the legal costs of such application to the court.

SECT. 5. Be it further enacted, that when the said monument shall have been completed by the said Corporation, the same shall be, together with all the land purchased, and then held by said Corporation, conveyed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to be had and held by said Commonwealth, on the condition that the Commonwealth shall keep the said monument, and any buildings for public use connected therewith, in good repair for ever.

Approved by the Lieut. Governor, Feb. 26, 1825.

Dr. Warren wrote to Mr. Everett, February 24 : "Our Bill passed the House this afternoon, — not without a struggle, which made me tremble for its fate. Mr. Dexter was at my side, and, though opposed, he declined speaking or voting against the Bill; for which we have much reason to thank him, as it would have proved fatal."

Although the passage of the Act was deemed of the highest importance, the result did not prove so beneficial as was expected. It was then supposed that the granite stone for the monument would be quarried in Chelmsford, where the supply was generally obtained, whence it would be transported by the Middlesex Canal to the state prison wharf, where it could be hammered and dressed by State labor, and thence could be readily teamed as wanted for construction.

The land was principally negotiated for and purchased in the summer and fall of 1824. In only one instance was there recourse to the provisions of the Act, and that was the case of a party under guardianship, who was owner of an undivided sixth part of a lot; but Mr. Knowles was of the opinion that in three or four other instances, in which the negotiation was not completed till the spring of 1825, the power given by the Act was a great assistance.

In August, 1824, Dr. Warren wrote to Mr. Webster, who was passing his vacation at Sandwich, — he had not then acquired his famous farm in Marshfield, — for his opinion as to the quantity of land the Association ought to purchase, and how to raise the money to pay for it, before the subscriptions came in, and

upon the extent to which the membership of the Association should be enlarged. To these inquiries was sent the following reply, written in a free, familiar style, and disclosing graphically the rural, recreative life of the great Statesman, while enjoying the *Otium cum dignitate*: —

SANDWICH, Aug. 15.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received yours yesterday, and have shown it to Mr. Blake. For myself, I have always been in favor of buying a pretty liberal piece of land, before we began our work. I do not know enough of particulars to rely on my own judgment, but am disposed to follow you, Mr. Sullivan, and the rest of the gentlemen. I am content, therefore, to take a part in the proposed purchases, with a limitation, such as you mention, — that my part does not exceed one thousand dollars. Mr. Blake authorizes me to say the same in his behalf. We are not afraid of loss, unless advantage be taken of our *patriotism* to demand enormous prices.

As to the other suggestion in your letter, the propriety of augmenting greatly the numbers of the Corporation, I have not heard the *pros* and *cons*, and have no fixed opinion on the subject. My *feeling*, however, of expediency — for it is at present nothing but an impression — is, that it would be desirable to get along without such augmentation if we could. But on this point we can confer next week. I shall be likely to repose more trust in the judgment of others than in my own.

We are passing away time here not unpleasantly. The ladies are very agreeable, and we feel no want of company. Some things I like much; viz., the early rising, early meals, early going to bed. Nor would speak slightly of picking, catching, and *eating* birds and fish. I have left all ideas behind me except such as are appropriate to the place, — such as the places and seasons for trout, &c. As to Mr.

Blake, he resembles the old Roman soothsayers, being, like them, very superstitiously given to watching *the flights of birds*. Mrs. B. and Mrs. W. both send their love, and both wish that you would join us for a few days.

Yours always,

D. WEBSTER.

Judge William Prescott also signified his willingness to be obligated in the sum of one thousand dollars as surety for the Association upon a temporary loan for this purpose. Twenty gentlemen, including Mr. Webster, Mr. George Blake, and Judge Prescott, signed a note with the treasurer, each as surety in that sum; and the money was obtained at the Suffolk Bank, Sept. 17, 1824, and was repaid one half in January, and the other half in February following.

Mr. Knowles was industriously engaged in negotiating for the land, and General Sullivan examined the titles, and prepared the conveyances. Dr. Warren, who at the outset purchased the Russell pasture, a tract of nearly three acres, the title of which had been in the Russell family for over a century, was reimbursed the cost of his conveyance, \$1,250. This land descended to Sarah Russell, daughter of James Russell; and at her decease, without will, there were so many heirs at law, that, by their order, it was put in the hands of Charles R. Codman for sale. King Solomon's Lodge came forward nobly to surrender their claims to the land and to their monument, with the request that there should be hereafter preserved some memorial of it. Their request was granted, as the following correspondence will show : —

CHARLESTOWN, April 8, 1825.

GENTLEMEN,—The undersigned are a Committee, appointed by King Solomon's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, in Charlestown, to offer to your Association the monument and its appurtenances, by them erected to the memory of Major-General Joseph Warren and his associates, slain on the heights of Charlestown in the glorious battle of the 17 June, 1775.

This monument is a plain Tuscan pillar, built of wood eighteen feet in height, exclusive of the pedestal, which is eight feet high, built of stone and brick, the top terminating with a gilt urn. On one side of the pedestal is a tablet with an inscription commemorative of the battle. It cost, originally, about one thousand dollars.

In relinquishing their claim, the Committee would state, in brief, that the monument was erected by King Solomon's Lodge in 1794, having previously obtained a charter of incorporation for the purpose of holding in fee-simple the ground on which it is erected. The land was the donation of the Hon. James Russell, late of Charlestown. By neglect, no deed of conveyance was ever given, and no recorded evidence exists of such donation. The Lodge has, however, held quiet possession for more than thirty years. But, whatever may be the claim thus acquired, it is freely and cordially waived in favor of an institution whose object is so national and patriotic. At the same time, the Committee cannot but cherish the hope that some trace of its former existence may be hereafter found in the archives of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

Wishing your patriotic labors may be crowned with abundant success,

We are, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servants,

THOMAS J. GOODWIN,  
THOMAS HOOPER,  
WILLIAM GOING,  
*Committee.*

The President and Directors of the B. H. Monument Association.



You will doubtless be pleased to have it in your power to inform the Free and Accepted Masons of King Solomon's Lodge, the forerunners of the B. H. M. Association in this honorable undertaking, that the best prospect exists of the accomplishment, in due season, of a patriotic enterprise, of which their Lodge was the first to form the design and to set the example.

EDWARD EVERETT.

The several grantors of the land to the Association were:—

[illegible]

Benjamin Adams,	for . . . . .	\$1,000.00
Samuel Spring,	„ . . . . .	600.00
William Austin,	„ . . . . .	400.00
Heirs of Mary Beaman,	„ . . . . .	2,232.42
Dr. John C. Warren,	„ . . . . .	1,250.00
Amount, . . . . .		\$23,232.42

For this sum the Association acquired fifteen acres of land, at about \$1,550 an acre. We are surprised now that the Directors should have ever been charged with extravagance, either in buying too much land, or in paying too high a price. None of this land ever belonged to the Breed family. Their nearest land to the Association's purchase was at least one hundred feet distant from its easterly boundary.

Meanwhile, the Committee were canvassing vigorously for subscriptions in Boston. William Phillips, who had been Lieutenant Governor of the State from 1812 to 1823, under the successive administrations of Caleb Strong and of John Brooks, headed the subscription with one thousand dollars. After him, David Sears and Peter C. Brooks subscribed each five hundred dollars. The order in which gentlemen should be called upon, and in what way they should severally be approached, were points of discussion. Colonel Perkins was at first strongly of opinion that all subscriptions should be limited to not exceeding ten dollars. Doubtless, it would have been better if that sum had been fixed as the fee of membership. Mr. Russell wrote to Mr. Everett to inquire, as if in surprise, if their handsome copper-plate diploma was really to be given to every one who paid five dol-

# THE FIRST DIPLOMA

---

17th OF JUNE, 1775.

That  
be were as a parliament we moved of his having contributed to the common of the patriots charges  
has been submitted to by a number of them. I understand, and that there is

James Watson

Wm Sullivan.

Geo. Blake

Wm Buchanan

James Buchanan

Edward Currie

James & Thomas

PRESIDENT,

James Watson

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Wm Buchanan

Joseph Story

TREASURER.

Math. P. Russell.

SECRETARY.

Matthew Decker

John E. Warren.

John, Mowbray

Samuel Smith.

Geo. Siskens

Theodore Lyman, jr.

Abner P. Davis.

Joseph Putnam



Be it made known by us, that Edward John Brunker and Mary Ann Brunker,  
residing in the City of London, for the purpose of increasing the number of the  
copies of the said manuscript in the possession of the said Brunker and Mary Ann Brunker, in the  
year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty and one, have caused the following  
to be printed, viz. 17th Nov. 1831

0

.

.

0

lars ! Many notes on these matters passed between the members of the Committee, some of which have been preserved. The following from Mr. Everett give some idea how he was pressed and occupied by this patriotic work, especially when we consider that he was then performing his arduous duties of Professor at Cambridge, between which place and Boston there were then only two stage-coaches daily : —

Monday morning.

DEAR SIR, — I called at your house for the Bunker Hill Book, and I attempted to get into your study. On arriving at Mr. Hale's, I found you had foreseen my wants.

I have put the book into Mr. Kuhn's hands to-day to wait on Mr. Gray, Mr. Sears, Mr. Thorndike, Colonel and James Perkins, and Governor Eustis. He is to wait on the Governor this afternoon. As the result of this day's application, if favorable, will have a good effect on to-morrow's, I wish you could send to Mr. Kuhn's (just back of the State House, in Hancock street), about sunset, and get from him a report of his doings, and, if favorable, send it to the "Daily Advertiser," to appear to-morrow morning. I make no apology for asking this trouble, knowing that your heart is in the thing.

Yours,

E. EVERETT.

I will try to be at E. Brooks's office from half-past eleven till twelve this morning.

---

Boston, Thursday morning.

DEAR DOCTOR, — We have got on rather slowly through printers' delay. The circular is now circulating. I leave the book with you to get Mr. Phillips's subscription. I took the book myself to Mr. Walley's office yesterday, but he and Mr. Phillips were both at Andover.

John Q. Adams goes to Washington Saturday; dines, I understand, at John Welles's to-morrow. He has told me he wishes to subscribe. I do not dine at Welles's, but am to be in town, and will join you and George Blake, or General Dearborn, to wait on him with the book. Let me find a note from you at Mr. Hale's to-morrow morning.

Yours truly,

E. EVERETT.

If you can get at Mr. Adams at any time, do not wait for me.

---

Boston, Oct. 14, 1824.

DEAR DOCTOR, — I leave you two notes. Twenty dollars would not recompense me for the chagrin of having been tardy last evening.

I will do the best to get an account into the papers to-morrow, but fear it will not be practicable. On Saturday it shall be.

I will attend to Mr. Webster and the lists, and engage a good writer.

Yours in great truth,

EDWARD EVERETT.

On Sunday last I sent a special messenger with a labored communication (of a printed column and a half) for the "Daily Advertiser," on the need of large subscriptions. Hale atrociously mislaid it, but has found it, and says it shall come out to-morrow.

The article referred to as having been mislaid by Nathan Hale, the renowned editor of the "Advertiser," of whom Mr. Everett would not have ventured to write so familiarly, had he not been his brother-in-law, presents the subjects so ably, that it should certainly be inserted in this History entire, not only as



forming a part of the Bunker Hill literature of the time, but as containing ideas upon subscriptions well expressed and applicable to all times.

#### BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.

MR. HALE, — I have been much gratified at witnessing the favorable reception which the proposal for this monument has met with from the public. The subject, it is well known, had been often agitated in former years; and, like many other enterprises for the public good, which require much time and labor for their execution, without promising any private emolument, it seemed to be one of those things destined to be *talked about*.

The zeal, however, with which this object has lately been pursued; the stimulus given to public feeling by the visit of the beloved champion of our country; the approach of the fiftieth anniversary of the great events which marked the commencement of the Revolution, are circumstances which augur very favorably for the execution of the long contemplated project. Nothing seems now to be done but for all, who take an interest in this great public work; for all who think America has now reached that point in resource and prosperity where the elegant arts ought to receive a generous patronage; for all, who regard the battle of the 17th of June as the decisive event in our revolution, and, as such, an event whose importance is surpassed by that of no other human history, — to consult for the most effectual and proper mode of carrying into effect the proposed design.

As to the general mode of raising a fund sufficient for such a work as ought to be erected, it is of course that of private contribution. The Commonwealth, it has been thought by some persons, *ought* to take upon itself the erection of the monument. But it seems unprofitable to employ time in considering what the Commonwealth *ought* to do, when no one can think for a moment that they *will* do it. We must take things as they are, not as they ought to be.

A reasonable hope is indeed entertained, that the General Court will extend some important patronage to the monument. By the act of incorporation, after the monument shall be completed, the Association are authorized to "assign and transfer the same, with the land on which it stands, and the appurtenances, to the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth will accept the same." There is no doubt that, in consideration of the transfer of a costly and valuable work of art, and the spacious area on which it is placed, the government of the Commonwealth, whose duty it is, by the constitution, to encourage "all private societies and public institutions" by which the improvement of the country is promoted, will feel itself justified in affording liberal aid to the Association; especially as its objects are such as the people of the State, without distinction of party, cherish and approve. Still, however, the great burden must be supported by private contributions; and it is an important question, to those who feel a deep interest in the work, on what principle the citizens ought to be expected to subscribe; whether a small contribution should be expected from every one able to make a small contribution, while no one should be allowed to exceed a given sum, say *ten dollars*; or whether the affluent should be requested to make large and generous donations, at the same time, however, relying on a general contribution to make up the chief part of the funds required. This seems to be the alternative presented; and in an object of this kind, where no one can be actuated by any other wish or motive than that of *doing what is right*, it is important that the question should be duly considered.

In favor of relying *entirely* upon small subscriptions, it is urged that, from the nature of the object, it ought to be a general thing. The sentiments which dictate the erection of the monument are common to all, the events commemorated by it are equally interesting to all; and therefore the burden of the expense should be equally borne by all, and would be easily defrayed by a general subscription, throughout the Commonwealth, of five or ten dollars. It is also

urged, on the same side, that large donations tend to discourage small ones; that many persons who would cheerfully give their *ten* or *fifteen* dollars, if their neighbors gave no more, will be unwilling to put down so small a sum, by the side of donations of *five*, *two*, or *one hundred* dollars, and so will give nothing. These are the considerations which I have heard in favor of confining the subscription to small sums.

In favor of looking to the affluent for liberal donations, in addition to the smaller sums subscribed by the rest of the community, it is urged, in like manner, that the object is a *general* one, and one which ought therefore to have an equal support from all. But if no one gives more than *ten* dollars, a very unequal effort is made by the different classes of society. To the rich man *ten* dollars is nothing. It is no more than he is willing to give any time for a box at the theatre, for an elegantly bound novel, or for two or three bottles of rich wine. The industrious farmer who gives ten dollars gives a half ton of hay, which would have kept his cow two months; the frugal mechanic who gives it, gives a month's board of his journeyman. The clerk, the school-master, the country clergyman, the young lawyer and doctor, who gives ten dollars, gives from one to two per cent on his year's income. If, then, we call on the citizens generally to raise the sum required by small subscriptions of five and ten dollars we ask of those best able to give a mere trifle, and of those least able to give we ask more than they can well spare; and, though the sum may be the same, the burden can by no means be said to be equally borne. It is true, it would be ridiculous to go to the opposite extreme, and expect the affluent to contribute in the full proportion of their means. This is not attempted even by the tax-gatherer; and the citizen who counts his million or his half-million is never expected to pay toward the burdens of society a sum as burdensome to him as the frugal tax of the mechanic is to one who labors for his daily bread. Still, however, something *like* a proportion is *aimed at*; and it would be absurd to lay an

equal tax on all, upon the ground that the protection which the government affords is an object of equal interest to all.

In addition to this, the sum required is too large to be conveniently raised by an exclusive resort to small contributions. According to the Circular Letter of the Directors, the column proposed will cost thirty-seven thousand dollars, and the land cannot be procured under an additional expense of twenty-four thousand ; making an aggregate of sixty-one thousand dollars, without any allowance for contingencies, which must nevertheless be anticipated. Those who are conversant with the business of raising large sums of money by subscription will probably agree that to raise this amount exclusively by small sums would prove a difficult thing. It could no doubt be accomplished ; the immense sums raised by some of our Missionary institutions, and in a degree from very small contributions, prove that it *could* be accomplished, though with almost incalculable labor and time bestowed in the details incident to such attempts. This consideration, we understand, had its influence on the minds of the gentlemen of large fortunes who have already subscribed so liberally toward the monument. They did it from a persuasion that, without some assistance of this kind, the difficulty of raising the requisite funds would be very great ; and, we are much inclined to think that, the more the subject is considered the more this opinion will prevail. It is under this impression, that we entertain a strong desire to see their example sanctioned by such of our opulent and liberal citizens as have not yet had an opportunity of subscribing.

With respect to the difficulty, that large donations will discourage small ones, I am inclined to think it of little force. In subscribing to this object, the citizen must be actuated by such motives as will raise him above this feeling. He gives what he can afford to a noble object of patriotic interest. Shall he withhold it because a neighbor has been favored by Providence with the means of giving more, and, under the influence of the same patriotic spirit, is willing to bestow according to his ampler means ? I think not. Besides, on

the most unfavorable footing, more will doubtless be gained by a few large subscriptions than will be lost by discouraging small ones. It would take two hundred subscriptions at five dollars each to make one thousand dollars ; but we cannot suppose that two hundred citizens, willing to give their five dollars each, will be deterred from doing it because one liberal and affluent neighbor has given a thousand.

It may just be suggested that, though this event is, in many senses, of common and equal interest, yet if there be any class peculiarly indebted to the Revolution, and our consequent independence, it is the rich. As Colonies, though our population would not have advanced so rapidly, yet those who compose the middling and lower portion of the community, no doubt, would have lived much as they do now, except as to political privileges ; but where would have been our great commercial fortunes under the English Navigation Act ? where our vast manufacturing establishments under the prohibition “ to manufacture a hobnail ” ? CIVIS.

The further duty was imposed upon Mr. Everett to prepare a circular, to be issued in the name of the Directors. This also he found time to do, and did it well, as he did every thing which he undertook. Dr. Warren declared it ought to be handsomely printed, and a copy sent to every respectable house in Boston. For the same reason, it deserves a place here : —

#### CIRCULAR.

SIR, — It is a matter of public notoriety that, about a year since, an act of incorporation was granted by the Legislature of the Commonwealth to the Bunker Hill Monument Association. The gentlemen who applied for and received that act of incorporation have no other interest in the subject than what actuates them in common with their fellow-citizens. They were induced to take this step from the very

general private expression of feeling in favor of the erection of a monument on the spot alluded to ; from the opinion that the suitable time for such an undertaking had now arrived ; and from strong assurances received from many most respectable persons that, in order to concentrate the public sentiment, and ensure a general co-operation towards the end in view, it was only necessary that some few individuals should take upon themselves the unpretending but indispensable office of formally soliciting the attention of a liberal and patriotic community to the subject.

It would be a very superfluous though a pleasing task to insist upon the importance of the event to be commemorated in the monument proposed. The action of the 17th of June, 1775, is too well known, not merely to Americans, but to the readers of history throughout the world, to require any attempt at illustration. It may only be observed that this action is most important, considered merely in the astonishing resistance made by raw militia, badly armed, scantily provided with ammunition, facing an enemy for the first time, and that enemy the flower of the best troops in the world, and actually killing and wounding a number scarcely less than the whole of their own engaged. It is still more worthy of commemoration when we consider it in its effect on the fortunes of the war, in teaching the enemy to respect the spirit of the people whom he had endeavored to crush, and inspiring America herself with the consciousness of her own power. Lastly, the spectacle itself presented by the action was justly styled by General Burgoyne, who witnessed it from Boston, "one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived," — the re-enforcements moving over the water ; the fire of the floating batteries and ships of war ; the flames from three hundred houses in Charlestown ; the ascent of the British troops, pausing from time to time, as their artillery played upon the American works ; the coolness and intrepidity with which that fire was sustained by our countrymen, and the fatal precision with which they returned it ; the broken and recoiling lines of the enemy ; the final retreat of the gal-

lant band who had withstood them ; the tens of thousands looking on from the house-tops and steeples and hills of Boston and all the neighboring country, and beholding with the most conflicting emotions the awful struggle in their view. It would perhaps be difficult to select in history an event more entitled to celebration by the character of the exploits, its great national effects, its astonishing grandeur, and its affecting incidents.

The spot itself on which this memorable action took place is extremely favorable for becoming the site of a monumental structure. Competent judges have pronounced the heights of Charlestown to exceed any spot on our coast in their adaptation to the object in view. Their position between the Mystic and the Charles, with the expanse of the harbor of Boston and its beautiful islands in front, has long attracted the notice of the stranger. An elevated monument on this spot would be the first landmark of the mariner in his approach to our harbor ; while the whole neighboring country, comprising the towns of Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, Medford, and Chelsea, with their rich fields, villages, and spires, the buildings of the University, the bridges, the numerous ornamental country seats and improved plantations, the whole bounded by a distant line of hills, and forming a landscape which cannot be surpassed in variety and beauty, would be spread out as in a picture to the eye of the spectator on the summit of the proposed structure.

Nor are these the only natural advantages of the spot. Though essentially rural in many of its features, it rises above one of our most flourishing towns, the seat of several important national establishments, where the noble ships of war of the American Republic seem to guard the approach to the spot where her first martyrs fought and bled. Its immediate vicinity to Boston, and its convenient distance from Salem, make the access to it direct from the centres of our most numerous, wealthy, and active population ; and will be the means of keeping continually in sight, or bringing frequently to view, to the greatest masses of the community,

the imposing memorial of an event which ought never to be absent from their memory, as its effects are daily and hourly brought home to the business and bosom of every American citizen.

These are a few of the circumstances, very briefly stated, which point out the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, as a suitable event to be commemorated ; and which illustrate the great adaptation of the spot where it was fought to the erection of a monumental structure. The present moment seems peculiarly marked out as auspicious to the enterprise. Fifty years have now nearly elapsed since the curtain rose on this momentous scene of our national drama. A half of one of those great periods by which the history of our race is reckoned is drawing to its close, and bringing with it the jubilee of our political existence. This long period has laid down in the soil which they combined to liberate most of the high-minded men who raised their hands or their voices in those trying times. A few only remain, the venerable witnesses of what we may do to show our gratitude toward those to whom we owe all "that makes it life to live," our liberty. A few only remain to carry to their compatriots who have gone before them the welcome tidings that we tenderly cherish their memory, and that we are determined to bestow upon it every mark of honorable and grateful respect. The presence of these few Revolutionary patriots and heroes among us seems to give a peculiar character to this generation. It binds us by an affecting association to the momentous days, the searching trials, the sacrifices, and dangers, to which they were called. The feeble hands and gray hairs of those who, before we were living, faced death, that we, their children, might be born free, are a sight which this generation ought not to behold without emotion ; a sight which calls upon us not to delay those public expressions of gratitude which soon will be too late for those we would most wish to honor. Nor is the present moment, in other respects, less adapted to this honorable enterprise. It is a time, not indeed of adventurous speculations and dazzling



gains, but of steady general prosperity. Dwelling-houses and warehouses are rising in unexampled numbers in our large towns ; manufactures with equal rapidity, and on the most solid footing, are advancing in every district of the country ; and agriculture, the great substantial interest, the basis of every other pursuit, is daily assuming an improved, liberal, and more productive character. It is only when we compare these well-known features of our present position with the general languor, the scanty population, and the poverty which existed at the opening of the Revolutionary War, that we can do justice to our present prosperity. Nor is this enough. Now, in the days of our independence, of our prosperity, of our growing internal wealth, of our participation in all the the world's commerce, of our enjoyment of every thing which can make a people happy, we ought to remember the sacrifices and losses of our fathers. No grateful mind can, from the fruits of this unexampled welfare, refuse to bestow a trifle upon a work proposed as a decent and becoming tribute to the memory of the great and good men to whose disinterestedness in putting to hazard their property and lives we owe our being, our rights, our property, our all.

In forming an estimate of the cost of the structure proposed, a single eye has been had to the principle which dictates its erection. Every thing separated from the idea of substantial strength and severe taste has been discarded, as foreign from the grave and serious character both of the men and events to be commemorated. With this principle in view, it has been ascertained that a monumental column, of classical model, with an elevation to make it the most lofty in the world, may be erected of our fine Chelmsford granite, for about thirty-seven thousand dollars. The nature of the work allows the estimate to be made with great accuracy, and little fear of being exceeded. There is also ground to hope that such contracts may be made with the proprietors of the part of the hill on which the monument must stand, as will bring the whole additional expense for land within reasonable limits.

From the interest which has been discovered in this object, even in this early stage, by many distinguished citizens of Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and other places ; from the disposition which has been everywhere evinced to afford a hearty co-operation in the plan, — it has been hoped that the corner-stone of the monument may be laid on the 17th of June next, the day that completes the half-century from that on which the battle was fought, and which it is proposed to commemorate with every demonstration of respect, joy, and gratitude, becoming the anniversary of such an event. As the entire success of the undertaking depends on the zeal with which it may be seconded by a liberal and patriotic community, it has been thought proper that this address should be thus early made ; not with a view of urging those considerations, which so obviously suggest themselves to the mind of every American citizen, particularly of this State and the vicinity, but merely to bring the subject seasonably to the public notice.

The general propriety and expediency of erecting public monuments of the kind proposed are acknowledged by all. They form not only the most conspicuous ornament with which we can adorn our towns and our high places ; but they are the best proof we can exhibit to strangers that our sensibility is strong and animated toward those great achievements and greater characters to which we owe all our national blessings. There surely is not one among us who would not experience a strong satisfaction in conducting a stranger to the foot of a monumental structure rising in decent majesty on this memorable spot.

Works of this kind also have the happiest influence in exciting and nourishing the national and patriotic sentiment. Our government has been called, and truly is, a government of OPINION ; but it is one of SENTIMENT still more. It is not the judgment only of this people which dictates a preference of our institutions ; but it is a strong, deep-seated, inborn sentiment ; a feeling, a passion for liberty. It is a becoming expression of this sentiment to honor, in every way, the

memories and character of our fathers ; to adorn a spot where their noble blood was spilt, and not surrender it uncared for to the plough. Years, it is to be remembered, are rapidly passing away ; and the glorious tradition of our national emancipation which we received from them will descend more faintly to our successors. The patriotic sentiment which binds us together more strongly than compacts and constitutions will, if permitted, grow cold from mere lapse of time. We owe these monuments, therefore, not less to the character of our posterity than to the memory of our fathers. These events must not lose their interest. Our children, and our children's children have a right to these feelings, cherished and kept warm by a worthy transmission. 'It is the order of nature that the generation to achieve nobly, should be succeeded by the generation worthily to record and gratefully to commemorate. We are not called to the fire and the sword ; to meet the appalling array of armies ; to taste the bitter cup of imperial wrath and vengeance proffered to an ill-provided land. We are chosen for the easier, more grateful, but not less bounden duty of commemorating and honoring the labors, sacrifices, and sufferings of the great men of those dark times.

There is one point of view in which it seems to be strongly called upon to engage in the erection of works like that proposed. The beautiful and noble arts of design and architecture have hitherto been engaged in arbitrary and despotic service. The pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the monumental columns of Trajan and Aurelius, have paid no tribute to the rights or feelings of man. Majestic or graceful as they are, they bear no record but that of sovereignty, sometimes cruel and tyrannical, and sometimes mild ; but never that of a great, enlightened, and generous people. Providence, which has given us the sense to observe, the taste to admire, and the skill to execute these beautiful works of art, cannot have intended that, in a flourishing nation of freemen, there should be no scope for their erection. Our fellow-citizens of Baltimore have set us a noble example of redeeming the arts

to the cause of free institutions in the imposing monument they have erected to the memory of those who fell in defending their city. If we cannot be the first to set up a structure of this character, let us not be other than the first to improve upon the example ; to arrest and fix the feelings of our generation on the important events of an earlier and more momentous struggle, and to redeem the pledge of gratitude to the high-souled heroes of that trying day.

For a work calculated to appeal, without distinction, to every member of the community, we trust we need no apology for respectfully soliciting your co-operation and interest. The monument must be erected by the union of all the classes and members of society, and the smallest assistance, by contribution or encouragement, will aid in the great design.

DANIEL WEBSTER,  
H. A. S. DEARBORN,  
BENJAMIN GORHAM,  
GEORGE BLAKE,  
JOHN C. WARREN,  
SAMUEL D. HARRIS,  
WILLIAM SULLIVAN,

JESSE PUTNAM,  
ISAAC P. DAVIS,  
SETH KNOWLES,  
EDWARD EVERETT,  
GEORGE TICKNOR,  
THEODORE LYMAN, JR.,  
*Directors.*

EDWARD EVERETT, { *Secretary of the Standing*  
                                  *Committee of the Directors.*

Boston, Sept. 20, 1824.

General Dearborn was also instructed by the Standing Committee to prepare and publish a notice to the public in their name, in all the newspapers in the State. This was done in the following style: —

#### BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The objects of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and the measures which have been taken to achieve them, having been made known by the recent publication of a circular letter to the members, — NOTICE is now given, that a subscription book, headed by the nation's guest, General Lafayette, will, in a few days, be presented to the patriotic

and liberal citizens of Boston, for contributions, to enable us to erect the projected magnificent monument; and we are sanguine that the result will be honorable to their munificence.

The citizens of every town in the Commonwealth are respectfully and most earnestly requested to call meetings and appoint committees, to collect subscriptions and transmit the sums, with the names of the donors, to Nathaniel P. Russell, Esq., the Treasurer of the Association.

Every person who subscribes five dollars will be entitled to become a member of the Association, and will receive a richly engraved certificate of admission, embellished with a vignette of the Battle of Bunker Hill; and all persons who subscribe one dollar will have their names inscribed on the records, and deposited in the archives of the Association.

It would be supererogation to remind our fellow-citizens of the interesting events which immediately preceded the Battle of Bunker Hill, or to dwell on the glorious results of that ever-memorable action. It united a whole people in the cause of liberty, and roused to arms those determined champions who triumphantly achieved our national independence.

From the heights of Charlestown went forth that spirit of freedom which cheered and upheld the statesman and soldier during the darkest and most stormy periods of the Revolution. Our advancement in the arts, sciences, and literature; our progress in agriculture; the establishment of manufactories; the vast range of our commerce; all the comforts and embellishments of society; and our grand career in the march of nations, — take their date from the 17th of June, 1775.

Let us, then, generously do honor to those gallant soldiers who, on that eventful day, unsheathed their swords in defence of the rights of man, and whose battle-cry was, "Liberty or Death."

By order of the Standing Committee of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

H. A. S. DEARBORN, *Chairman.*

A general public meeting was held at the Marlborough Hotel, on the 13th of October, at which it was finally, on motion of General SULLIVAN, amended on the proposal of H. H. FULLER, Esq., voted to choose a committee of thirteen to appoint and organize the Ward Committees, in such manner as should seem most expedient. The following gentlemen were accordingly appointed a committee of thirteen, being one from each Ward, and one from South Boston: Henry J. Oliver, Gedney King, Benjamin Smith, H. H. Fuller, G. W. Otis, Nathan Appleton, Abbott Lawrence, Joseph P. Bradlee, Josiah Bradlee, Amos Lawrence, Gerry Fairbanks, John D. Williams, and Cyrus Alger.

This meeting was attended by Dr. Warren, and Mr. Everett, who was pressed into the service as Secretary.

Mr. Oliver afterwards made report to Franklin Dexter, Secretary, of which the following is an extract:—

LYNN STREET, NOV. 27, 1824.

SIR, — On the 15th ultimo, I received a letter from Edward Everett, Esq., secretary of a “meeting of gentlemen friendly to the erection of a Monument on Bunker Hill,” communicating to me an appointment on a committee for the purpose of selecting and organizing Ward Committees, to solicit subscriptions for said object; and requesting my attendance at the Marlboro’ Hotel, to proceed to the necessary duties, &c.: at which place the gentlemen of said committee attended, and proceeded to business; the Board being organized by the appointment of Nathan Appleton, Esq., as chairman, and the subscriber as secretary. After a discussion of the subject upon which they were convened, the Board proceeded to the nomination of six persons in each ward, and three for South Boston, to solicit subscriptions. . . .

HENRY J. OLIVER,

*Secretary to the Board of Nominating Committee.*

At the close of nine months' deliberation and incessant labor on the part of the Standing Committee, Mr. Everett drew up the following summary of their doings, which was presented as their report to the whole Board of Directors: —

*Report of the Standing Committee to the Directors, March 1, 1825.*

In consequence of the inconvenience experienced by the whole body of Directors in attending meetings as frequently as the affairs of the Association appeared to require, it was determined, at a meeting of the Directors held at the Boston Exchange Coffee House July 27, 1824, that a Standing Committee should be appointed, which was done by the following votes; viz.: —

“That a Standing Committee of the Directors, to the number of five, be appointed to exercise the powers of the Directors in managing the affairs of the Association, and that this committee be authorized to call a meeting of the Directors whenever it may be needful to consult them.

“That this committee consist of Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, Dr. Warren, E. Everett, Geo. Blake, Esq., and S. D. Harris.”

The committee raised by this vote immediately entered upon the discharge of their duty.

The first object that engaged their attention was the procuring the transfer to the Association of the funds of the Washington Benevolent Society, which was shortly accomplished through the exertions of the friends of the Association, and the liberality of the officers and members of the Washington Benevolent Society. The very handsome sum of near \$2,000, with the banners of the Washington Benevolent Society, and other interesting articles, were thus procured to the Association.

The acquisition of the land required for the objects of the Association, on the hill where the battle was fought, next engaged the attention of the Standing Committee, as an object of primary interest. In the prosecution of this object,

considerable delay and some difficulties were encountered. A portion of the land was procured on fair terms ; for another portion, it became necessary to pay an exorbitant price ; while, for a small quantity, it was requisite to receive legislative aid, which was afforded by the act lately passed. In pursuing the measures for procuring the land, the Standing Committee were desirous of availing themselves of the counsel of the whole body of Directors. The Board was accordingly convened Sept. 13, 1825, and sanctioned the acts of the Standing Committee in reference to this, one of the most important parts of their duty. The Standing Committee are under particular obligations to several gentlemen, through whose services and good offices they were enabled to effect the acquisition of the land, particularly to the Hon. Seth Knowles.

No steps had hitherto been taken toward engaging the interest of the community in general in the objects of the Association, with a view to raising the funds necessary to effecting those objects. Besides an appeal to the public in the form of an Address, it was thought expedient very considerably to enlarge the numbers of the Association by electing additional members, and also to entitle every one to the privilege of membership who should subscribe to the fund of the Institution five dollars and upwards. In furtherance of this part of the plan, an engraved certificate of membership was prepared.

In this stage of the proceedings, the arrival of General Lafayette seemed to offer a favorable opportunity of drawing the public attention to the monument, in connection with this illustrious stranger. The shortness of the notice not admitting very adequate preparation for this purpose, it was only in the power of the committee to procure a partial meeting of the Directors on the top of Bunker Hill, where the objects of the Association were explained to the General ; and he promised to attend the celebration of the 17th of next June.

In proceeding upon the very important business of procur-



ing subscriptions to the funds, the committee thought it their duty to act with the prudence and consideration required by the delicacy and magnitude of that part of their trust. Letters were addressed to gentlemen conspicuous for their wealth and liberality, and with very gratifying results. Esteeming it, then, desirable to give a powerful movement to the Institution, a meeting of active, liberal, and public-spirited gentlemen, including the Board of Directors, was called, at which a Central Committee was appointed, and authorized to organize Ward Committees throughout the city. These measures were carried into effect with regularity, promptness, and decision. The gentlemen of the Central and Ward Committees bestowed much time, and conferred very signal benefits, on the Association; and an estimated sum of \$25,000 has been raised in the city.

The collecting of subscriptions in other parts of the Commonwealth next engaged the attention of the Standing Committee. Particular application was made to the town of Charlestown, as more nearly interested in the success of the undertaking; and a very liberal spirit has been disclosed on the part of its citizens. To every town in the Commonwealth was sent a subscription-book, addressed to the selectmen, containing a statement of the principles, views, and objects of the Association, drawn up, at the request of the committee, by General Sullivan, to whose services in preparing and circulating this Address with the subscription-books, as well as in procuring the land and organizing the Ward Committees, the Association is under great obligations. A copy of the same Address was also forwarded to the clergymen of the Commonwealth, for the purpose of being read on the day of the general thanksgiving. In furtherance of this part of the operations, the members of the Council, Senate, and House of Representatives were elected members of the Association. Partial returns only have been received from — towns in the State. The estimated amount of subscriptions, in the towns heard from, is about \$20,000.

The committee next directed their attention to the other

States, in and out of New England. They have opened a correspondence with citizens of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and with American citizens in Europe. They have still this part of their duty in train, and are as yet unable to ascertain with what probable result.

On the meeting of the General Court of the Commonwealth, a petition was presented by the committee, requesting legislative aid in procuring a portion of the land needed, — a donation of Hancock and Adams, the brass field-pieces, — and an amount of labor in hammering stone at the State's Prison. These objects were all obtained, the latter to the amount of \$10,000.

In reference to the erection of a monument, two or three plans have been offered to the committee, particularly an elaborate one by Mr. Solomon Willard. The committee have deemed it expedient to offer a reward of \$100 for the best plan that shall be presented.

The foregoing is not submitted to the Directors as a complete history of the doings of the committee: a great many details, attended with care and labor at the time, but not of consequence to be mentioned now, are omitted. The committee have only endeavored to present the leading features of their course in discharging the duty intrusted to them thus far; and shall be happy if the Directors think that hitherto the objects for which the committee was raised have been, in any due degree, attained. They hope to be able to present hereafter a favorable account of the final result of the subscription in this Commonwealth and in other places, both in and out of New England.

EDWARD EVERETT, *Secretary.*



24<sup>th</sup> 1825

Bunker Hill Monument  
Location of the great  
I say that whenever  
case of propriety, in other  
of the Southern and  
by Journey, to have it  
Boston, as a Representative  
ually interesting to the  
to Mr. Gallatin, to Pittsburg,  
with you on the 15<sup>th</sup>.  
as I can within the  
I shall not mix one of  
respects to the gentleman  
I and believe me



## CHAPTER VII.

Let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming ; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

**D**ANIEL WEBSTER was appointed at the first annual meeting of the Association, after its organization, held in 1824, to deliver the annual address on the 17th June, 1825, without reference to the laying of the corner-stone of the monument, or to the day being the half-century anniversary of the battle. It was simply in pursuance of the following vote passed at the same meeting, — “That there shall be an address annually delivered before the Association on the seventeenth day of June, to commemorate the Battle of Bunker Hill, and that a citizen shall be chosen at each annual meeting to make such address at the next annual meeting, and that the Directors be authorized to supply the vacancy, if any should occur.”

At the meeting of Directors held on the 13th of July following, the Secretary was instructed to communicate the above vote to Mr. Webster; and, at a meeting held on the 27th of the same month, the Secretary, Edward Everett, reported that he had done so. At the meeting on the 13th July, a Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of June 17th, 1825,

was chosen, consisting of the following gentlemen (twelve in number): George Blake, William Sullivan, S. D. Harris, Theodore Lyman, Jr., Samuel Swett, H. A. S. Dearborn, Seth Knowles, T. Harris, J. T. Austin, H. Orne, I. P. Boyd, and Benjamin Russell. Mr. Austin having declined, F. J. Oliver was afterwards chosen in his place.

The first acknowledgment made by Mr. Webster of this invitation appears indirectly in the following letter written by Mr. Ticknor while at Washington, who, being a Director, and also a particular friend of Lafayette, took special interest in the occasion he anticipated: —

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have conversed, at different times lately, a good deal with Mr. Webster, about the oration for the seventeenth of June. He has been undecided, until within a few days; but last evening he told me he was determined to do it, and desired me to let some of the Trustees know his resolution. No one is more interested than yourself, and therefore I place the information at your disposition. You may consider it decided, for he does.

General Lafayette will be with you also. At least, in all his arrangements for the West, he makes it a *sine qua non* that he shall be delivered in Boston on the 15th of June. I know not, therefore, why we should fail to have one of the most solemn ceremonies that has happened since Pericles made his funeral oration in the Ceramicus.

Yours very faithfully,

GEO. TICKNOR.

The following from Mr. Webster was probably written in reply to certain suggestions that Dr. War-

ren had made to him after the receipt of Mr. Ticknor's letter: —

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received yours of the 19th. I do not see (if you do not) any objection to let things rest as they are till I come home. I shall be home, doubtless, three months before the 17th June, which will be in season for any arrangement. You seem to be going on finely; though I doubt whether the State will do much. I think the subscriptions look well.

If it occurs to you as being proper that I should say or do any thing before I come home, please let me know; otherwise, let all things remain as they are.

Yours always truly,

D. WEBSTER.

It should be here stated that Mr. Everett was at this time the representative elect to the Nineteenth Congress, which was to be convened on the first Monday of December, 1825, during the first year of the administration of John Quincy Adams. He was nominated at a convention of citizens, held, without distinction of party, in October, 1824, in Lexington. His active efforts in behalf of the Monument Association had brought him in contact with the leading men of the Middlesex District, such as Mr. Knowles of Charlestown, and other members of the Legislature, to whom he had applied to favor the Association's Petition. In the Address sent out to the selectmen of the several towns, a promise was made that the Association would contribute of its funds to the erection of a monument in Concord, and her inhabitants subscribed about four hundred dollars, as they claimed,

in view of that offer. Mr. Everett was urgently invited by them to deliver an oration at Concord on the approaching 19th of April, when the corner-stone of the proposed monument should be laid. It appears by the following letter to Doctor Warren that the matter was not fully decided until a very short time before that anniversary: —

CAMBRIDGE, March 2, 1825.

DEAR DOCTOR, — As Governor Brooks is to be buried to-morrow, and it is proper I should attend the funeral, I would propose to defer our meeting till Saturday.

I found more difficulty at Concord than I expected; nor is the thing yet settled. I wish you would come to the meeting on Saturday, prepared to speak decisively as to making a grant of \$500 for a monument there. Not a word was said on the subject by or to me. They told me, if I would not come, there would be no celebration.

Yours ever sincerely,

E. EVERETT.

Mr. Webster seems to have been not a little disturbed by the proposed celebration in advance of the Bunker Hill occasion, and also by the statement generally made in the newspapers, that General Lafayette was to lay the corner-stone of the monument.

March 6.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your two letters, and am obliged to you for your kindness. The papers state, I perceive, that Mr. Everett makes an address at Concord, although I understood your letter differently. Doubtless you are right, and the editors *all* wrong. For my part, I do not see the propriety of a *series* of skirmishes on the occasion: that would be fighting our battles over again, somewhat too literally. If



Mr. E. be in truth to make a speech at Concord, let him say all that the whole subject requires, and we will lay our corner-stone without the pomp of words. But I suppose you are better informed in this matter; but your letter, being partly covered in the material words by the wax, leaves me a little in doubt whether I understand you. To-morrow I shall know.

As to General Lafayette, my opinion is that we ought to treat with all the frankness in the world one of the frankest men in the world. I should say, therefore, that a letter ought at once to be written to him, confidentially, stating the present posture of the business. His sense of propriety, quick beyond that of most others, would see this affair instantly in its right light. Mr. Ticknor can write him such a letter. It would meet him at N. Orleans, if written soon. For my own part, my opinion as to the course proper to be pursued is pretty strong. It may perhaps oblige me, in some possible events, to decline any part in this ceremony, in order to avoid unworthy suspicions of personal motives; but it is not likely to be given up. I will communicate farther on my arrival; and would not now have said any thing, but from the belief that it might be necessary to write to the good General soon.

Yours always,

D. WEBSTER.

I have no objections to your showing this to Mr. Ticknor; *sed ne plus ultra.*

It is not surprising that Mr. Webster should, at the first thought, shrink from following Mr. Everett on the 17th of June, 1825, upon almost the same ground, if he should pronounce a commemorative discourse on the 19th April preceding. The oration which Mr. Everett had delivered in 1824, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Cambridge, in the presence of

Lafayette, and in which he extended to him a glowing welcome, so thrilled and carried away the audience that its praise was in every one's mouth, and the popular judgment was that it was the grandest display of eloquence that had been witnessed in this country. The only popular or commemorative address which Mr. Webster had before given was delivered in Plymouth, on the Bicentennial Anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, in December, 1820, in the former meeting-house of the First Church; and it is stated that the day before he was much depressed through fear of not meeting the public expectation.

Mr. Webster was somehow reassured, and in the result the public had the benefit of an oration from each of these great orators, — one at Concord, and the other at Bunker Hill. Whatever friendly rivalry there might have been seemed only to stimulate each to exert his utmost ability, and to render the celebrations of the two semi-centennial anniversaries marked precedents for future observances.

The death of Ex-Governor Brooks, which occurred March 1, caused a vacancy in the office of President of the Association. The Directors assigned April 12 for the choice of a successor. When Mr. Webster was elected, Mr. Everett, Secretary of the Standing Committee, having charge of the correspondence, was requested by Mr. Dexter to act for him as Secretary of the Corporation, and a vote of the Directors was passed to that effect. William Prescott, Governor Wolcott of Connecticut, Governor Morrill of New Hampshire, Peter C. Brooks, David Sears,

Nathaniel Silsbee, Loammi Baldwin, and John Welles were added to the list of Directors. Mr. Brooks having declined, Colonel Daniel Putnam, of Brooklyn, Connecticut, was elected in his place, who, on being notified, returned the following reply: —

BROOKLYN, 16 May, 1825.

HON. MR. EVERETT.

SIR, — Your letter of the 13th ultimo was just a month travelling from Cambridge to Brooklyn. I mention this circumstance to account for the delay of making my acknowledgment for such an unexpected honor as has been conferred on me by the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

While tracing this measure to my descent, and reflecting on the unanimity with which you are pleased to say I was elected a member of the Board of Directors, I feel a confidence in the disposition of the Association to do justice to the memory of my father, which puts my mind quite at ease on that subject. Circumstances of an unpleasant nature have made *this* the paramount object of my solicitude; and if I am permitted the happiness of a meeting on an anniversary glorious to our country, and honorable to the brave who defended it on the heights of Charlestown, I hope neither jealousy nor envy will mar the good feelings which ought to predominate on the occasion.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Your obedient and obliged servant,

DANIEL PUTNAM.

At a meeting of the Directors, held March 1, it was —

*Voted*, That, whereas an impression prevails that General Lafayette has been requested to lay the corner-stone of the monument, which impression is unfounded, the Standing Committee be requested to communicate with the General on the subject, in such a way as they shall judge expedient.

The delicate task of preparing this letter was of course put upon Mr. Everett, who had also to satisfy the demand of Concord for her share of the subscription money which was improvidently promised in General Sullivan's circular to the Selectmen of the towns. Mr. Everett reported to Doctor Warren on both subjects in the following letter, in which there is also a suggestion with regard to the celebration of Bunker Hill:—

DEAR DOCTOR,—I enclose you the Lafayette letter as I have finally drafted it. My mind misgives me about sending it, but my scruples ought not to weigh. It is my opinion that, if we mean to save the General's feelings, he must help lay it; and, if so, no letter need be sent. Nevertheless, if you say the word, two copies are signed, sealed, and ready to go off by to-morrow's mail. I concluded not to send the certificate, as it would get crushed.

I enclose a letter from Concord. I propose to write to them: 1. That the Association stand ready at any time to pay \$500; 2. That they recommend it to the Selectmen (if they deem it expedient) to raise an additional subscription; 3. That the Association will furnish a plan as soon as practicable; 4. As the plan will undoubtedly be of a column or obelisk of—say eight feet square at the base, there will be no objection to preparing the ground to lay a corner-stone, at least *pro formâ*, on the 19th of April; 5. That the Association request the Selectmen of C. to superintend the work.

Something precise of this kind they will expect by way of answer. The next thing is to get a plan. Will it do in the state of Willard's feelings to go to him, and ask him to make one? if not, would you apply to Baldwin? I think an obelisk of a solid shaft, say 18 feet on a base of 5 or 6, all of granite, could be had for the money, and would be the *safest* thing to venture on. Shall I hear from you by the afternoon's stage?

Yours ever very truly,      EDWARD EVERETT.

CAMBRIDGE, Friday, March 25, 1825.

P. S. A thought has struck me lately. You will excuse me, if it is wholly improper. Would it not be in itself highly suitable, and add extremely to the interest of the 17th of June, if the remains of your uncle, as far as they can be identified, should be collected in a funeral urn, borne in the procession, and deposited under the monument?

On March 22, General Sullivan wrote: "A meeting is to be held at General Lyman's this evening to arrange for the 17th June. The principal subject of discussion will be the practicability of representing the battle; and, 2d, if practicable, the utility and expediency of doing it. Certainly these are debatable points." It was not uncommon at that time, at the fall musters of the militia, to have what were called sham fights, or representations of a battle by the troops. And on the 19th of October, the anniversary of Yorktown, and of the close of the Revolutionary War, the event was frequently celebrated by the getting up of a "Cornwallis," or the representation of the surrender of his army to Washington, at which these characters would be personated.

The Committee of twelve made the following report, which was accepted:—

The Committee for that purpose beg leave to report the following arrangements for the Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Seventeenth of June, 1775:—

1. The officers and members of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to assemble at the New Court House at nine o'clock, A.M., and make the organization for the ensuing year; after which the officers will proceed to their room in the Subscription House.

2. A committee of five to be chosen to wait on General Lafayette on his arrival in this city; inform him of the ar-

rangements ; and on the morning of the 17th of June conduct him to the room of the Association, immediately after the officers shall have there assembled.

3. The officers of the Association to proceed to the State House at ten o'clock.

4. The members of the Association, officers and soldiers who were in the battle of Bunker Hill, and of the Revolution, the Freemasons, the subscribers to the dinner, and invited guests, to assemble at the State House at ten o'clock.

5. The escort to be formed and move from the State House at half past ten, proceeding through Park, Common, Market, Union, and Hanover Streets to Charlestown, and through Maine, Salem, and High Streets to the battle ground.

6. The Commander of the escort to fix lines and place a guard round the site of the monument, within which the officers and members of the Association and all invited guests will be admitted.

7. The corner-stone to be laid under the direction of the Committee, which has been charged with that duty, and which will make all the arrangements therefor, including those with the Freemasons. When the stone has been laid, the Commander of the escort will cause a salute of twenty-four guns to be fired.

8. The procession to be reformed, and proceed through — Streets to Doctor Morse's meeting-house, where the Committee for that purpose will make all the necessary arrangements for the performances.

9. The procession to reform and proceed through — Streets to the tent where the dinner shall have been provided.

10. The arrangements of the dinner to be under the direction of the Committee appointed for that purpose, which is authorized to increase its numbers to such an extent as may be deemed necessary.

The following are the regulations for carrying the above arrangements into effect : —

1. The Committee for the escort will invite such officers and independent companies as may be necessary for that

purpose; procure the powder for the salutes; appoint the marshals, and obtain civil officers for preserving order at the State House, during all the movements of the procession, and on the battle ground, and to aid such as the Meeting-House Committee shall provide; and, if necessary, to be placed under the direction of the Dinner Committee, to assist those which may have been selected for the police of the tent.

2. The Meeting-House Committee will request some persons to write odes or hymns, procure music, chaplains, and do all that may be necessary for the performance of the ceremonies at the meeting-house.

3. The Dinner Committee to provide a tent and dinner for such number of persons as shall be found expedient, at some place near Breed's Hill; request some of our most distinguished poets to write odes and songs, and engage gentlemen to sing them; prepare toasts; procure music; furnish tickets; appoint marshals and assistants; and do whatever may be requisite for rendering the entertainment such as the occasion requires. A tent guard to be furnished by the Commander of the escort, and placed under the Chairman of the Committee.

4. An Executive Committee of three to be chosen to act for the whole Committee of Arrangements hereafter, which shall publish the order of arrangements for the day; give, under the directions of the Directors, such invitations as may be extended to Revolutionary officers and soldiers, and gentlemen of distinction, who may either be present or it shall be proper to notice, living in or out of the State; receive reports from the sub-committees, and, when necessary, report to the Directors; receive all bills, and, after passing the same, transmit them to the Treasurer for payment; and have a general superintendence of the ceremonies of the day.

5. It is recommended that the following gentlemen be invited by the Executive Committee:—

LAFAYETTE.

GOVERNORS OF THE FIVE OTHER  
NEW ENGLAND STATES.

GOVERNOR.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

PRESIDENT OF SENATE.	JUDGES OF SUPREME COURT.
SPEAKER OF HOUSE.	JUDGES OF UNITED STATES
NAVY COMMANDMENT.	COURT.
SENATORS OF UNITED STATES.	PRESIDENT OF COLLEGE.
REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGRESS	ARMY COMMANDMENT.
OF UNITED STATES.	GRAND MASTER MASON.
SURVIVORS OF BATTLE, without distinction as to ability to buy tickets.	

6. The Chairman of the Escort, Meeting-House, Corner-Stone, and Executive Committees to be furnished with a copy of these regulations.

GEO. BLAKE,

*Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for the 17th June.*

This report was modified afterwards, in some respects. The annual meeting for organization was called at six o'clock on the morning of the 17th, at which Mr. Everett was unanimously elected secretary; and then the meeting was adjourned to the 24th. The officers and members of the Association, and invited guests, assembled at the State House. The Meeting-House Committee, which consisted of Mr. Knowles, Mr. Lawrence, and Colonel Swett, were instructed to consider the expediency of providing seats on the hill for the exercises, as it was evident from the general interest felt that this would be the only place for the vast assembly.

The Standing Committee were instructed to procure a suitable corner-stone for the ceremony; but the subject of measures proper to be taken at the laying of the corner-stone was referred to a committee consisting of General Sullivan, General Lyman, and Dr. Warren.



That Committee reported on May 10th as follows : —

The Committee appointed to make arrangements for laying the corner-stone of the monument on the 17 June beg leave to report in part : —

That, if the plan of a monument be definitely settled in time, the north-east angle of the foundation be prepared, and raised as high as the surface of the earth ; and that, if it be not settled, then an angle of the foundation shall be prepared as near the expected situation as possible, and raised sufficiently to receive the stone, which shall form the south-east angle above the surface of the earth.

That a stone of proper magnitude be procured for this purpose, and an excavation made therein to contain the following articles, and such others as it may be thought best to deposit therein ; viz., a silver plate containing the name or names of the person or persons who may perform the ceremony of laying the corner-stone ; the names of the officers of the Bunker Hill Monument Association ; of the Standing Committee ; of the Directors ; of the Committee of Artists ; of the President of the United States and Governor of the Commonwealth ; of the principal architect of the monument ; and of such others as may be added by the Directors. Also, that the printed book of subscribers to the monument be deposited therein ; a history of its origin and foundation ; a certificate of members ; the various addresses made to the public ; histories of the battles of Bunker Hill and of Lexington ; and such other papers as may be judged proper.

All these articles, being placed in a box, shall be deposited in the excavation prepared for the purpose ; and another portion of the corner-stone shall be placed on the inferior portion by the person or persons who shall perform the ceremony of laying the corner-stone ; and immediately the two portions of stone shall be secured to each other by such means as shall prevent any change in the relative position of the two pieces, until the monument shall be destroyed.

Further, your Committee beg leave to report that, as the Bunker Hill Monument is to be erected at the expense and by the labors of this Association, it is becoming that the corner-stone should be laid by this Association, through the medium of their first officer, the President of this Association; and as the distinguished friend of this country, General Lafayette, is expected to honor this anniversary celebration by his attendance, that he be invited to accompany the President of this Association, and to assist in the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the monument; and, moreover, as the Freemasons of King Solomon's Lodge [of this State] have, at their expense, erected the monument now standing on Bunker Hill, which is to be removed, that, as a mark of respect to this fraternity for their patriotism and liberality, the principal Grand Master be invited to assist the President of this Association in laying the corner-stone, and seeing that it be placed in a workmanlike manner; and that the Freemasons of this and other States be invited to attend, with their insignia, &c.

If these propositions should be adopted, the Committee will proceed in arranging the details, and make further report.

All which is submitted by the Committee.

WM. SULLIVAN, *Chairman.*

On considering this report, it was voted that a committee of two be raised to wait upon the Hon. Mr. Webster, President of the Association, and confer with him on the subject of laying the corner-stone in Masonic order. Messrs. Oliver and Prescott were appointed of this committee; and, having retired to confer with the President, so the record states, made report that the President approves of having the corner-stone laid by the Grand Lodge of Masons; and thereupon the report of the committee for laying the corner-stone was amended, so that the last paragraph shall read as follows: "The Committee

beg leave further to report, as the distinguished guest of our country, General Lafayette, is expected to honor the celebration with his presence, that he be invited to accompany the President and assist in the ceremony; and, as the fraternity of Masons of King Solomon's Lodge have erected the monument now standing on the hill, as a mark of respect for their liberality and patriotism, the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts be invited to lay the corner-stone, and see that it be placed in a workmanlike manner, and to request the Freemasons of this and of other States to attend, with their insignia and badges."

The original Committee of twelve being discharged, the Executive Committee for the celebration was made to consist of General Sullivan, General Lyman, Colonel Harris, and Mr. Knowles. It was ordered, June 8, that General Lyman have the exclusive control of the procession on the 17th June, and that the Executive Committee be directed to aid him in such manner as he may desire, and that the said Committee have full power to afford such aid in whatever relates to the anniversary celebration.

The Standing Committee were obliged to procure a corner-stone for the occasion before the form and size of the structure could be determined upon. In the uncertainty whether the stone itself would form a permanent part of the monument, they intended to be sure that the box containing the articles deposited should be incorporated with it. Captain Alexander Paris, an architect of high reputation, who

had furnished complete designs for the monument, was employed to prepare the stone, the box, and the plate of inscription. He also acted as the official architect (none other having been then appointed) to receive the working tools from the Grand Master at the Masonic ceremony, with the injunction to see that the structure was laid in a true and workmanlike manner, and to make the customary reply. This he did acceptably in Masonic style.

Dr. Warren suggested the following inscription for the plate:—

Erected by the present generation to testify their veneration, commemorate the noble spirit which animated their fathers to shed their blood on this sacred soil, and thus to afford an example for the imitation of their own countrymen, and for the defenders of freedom in all countries and all ages.

This structure was begun on the 17th June, 1825, in presence of the officers of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, by the Grand Master of Freemasons, and the friend of the United States, General Lafayette (with the list of officers, &c.).

On consideration, it was determined to adopt the following

#### INSCRIPTION.

On the XVII day of June, MDCCCXXV, at the request of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the Most Worshipful JOHN ABBOTT, Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, did, in the presence of General LAFAYETTE, lay this corner-stone of a Monument to testify the gratitude of the present generation to their fathers, who, on the 17th of June, 1775, here fought, in the cause of their country and of free institutions, the memorable BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, and with their blood vindicated for their posterity the privileges and happiness this land has since enjoyed.

*Officers of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.* — President, DANIEL WEBSTER; Vice-Presidents, Thomas H. Perkins, Joseph Story; Secretary, Edward Everett; Treasurer, Nathaniel P. Russell; Directors, Wm. Prescott, Dan. Putnam, Wm. Sullivan, John C. Warren, Geo. Blake, John Welles, Benj. Gorham, Thos. Harris, H. A. S. Dearborn, Seth Knowles, Loammi Baldwin, George Ticknor, Saml. Swett, David Sears, Theod. Lyman, Jr., Amos Lawrence, Sam. D. Harris, Oliver Wolcott, D. L. Morrill, Jesse Putnam, Isaac P. Davis, Franklin Dexter, Nath. Silsbee, F. J. Oliver, Nathan Appleton; Standing Committee on collecting Subscriptions, H. A. S. Dearborn, John C. Warren, Edward Everett, George Blake, Samuel D. Harris; Committee on the form of the Monument, Daniel Webster, L. Baldwin, G. Stuart, Washington Allston, G. Ticknor; Architect, Alexander Paris. President of the United States, John Quincy Adams; Governor of Massachusetts, Levi Lincoln; Governor of Connecticut, Oliver Wolcott; Governor of New Hampshire, Danl. L. Morrill; Governor of Rhode Island, James Fenner; Governor of Vermont, C. P. Van Ness; Governor of Maine, Albion K. Parris.

*List of Articles deposited.*

Official Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill by the Provincial Congress; Official Account by General Gage; both written on parchment, and presented by John F. Eliot.

Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill by Samuel Swett.

Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill by H. Dearborn, Major-General U. S. A.

Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill by a Bostonian (Alden Bradford, Esq.).

Address of Bunker Hill Monument Association, by William Sullivan.

Circular Letter of Bunker Hill Monument Association, by Edward Everett.

Account of the Battle of Lexington in an Oration delivered at Concord by Edward Everett.

Life of Josiah Quincy, containing letters and a *fac-simile* of the writing of General Warren.

Coins of the United States.

Medals presented by Hon. T. L. Winthrop.

A fragment of Plymouth rock, presented by the Pilgrim Society.

Plan of the Battle of Bunker Hill and plan of Charlestown.

Specimens of old Continental currency, presented by Ebenezer Clough, Lemuel Blake, and Major George Bass.

Silver plate, inscribed as above.

A copy of each of the newspapers of the city, printed this week.

Mr. Everett, having received the honorary appointment on the Annual Examining Committee of the United States Military Academy at West Point, wrote Dr. Warren the following before going : —

Boston, May 25, 1825.

DEAR DOCTOR, — I am going to New York to-morrow with my brother A. H. E., and from thence proceed to West Point. I have taken measures to have the meeting on the first Tuesday in June, duly warned ; and, as I shall not be present, I venture to trouble you with the books of the Association, which I beg you to be so good as to cause to be at the meeting.

Our strangely chosen committee will probably report a plan of a column, which is a copy of Trajan's, divested of its ornaments. I do not think any thing else *safe*. I have accidentally conversed with Dr. Bigelow (who has made a study of these things), and who prefers a column decidedly on that ground.

I shall strain every nerve to be here by June 17th ; but, by what I understand of the duration of the examination, that will not be possible. I suppose that there will be room enough for one to be absent.

Yours ever very truly,

E. EVERETT.

Mr. Everett had preserved a copy of his letter to General Lafayette, which is as follows : —

CAMBRIDGE, 29 March, 1825.

DEAR GENERAL, — It gives me great pleasure to have it in my power, by order of the Committee of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to inform you that the undertaking in which we have engaged has prospered beyond our expectations. When we enjoyed the happiness of your visit last autumn, it was *proposed* only to commence the erection of the monument this spring. The Directors had indeed determined, at all events, to celebrate the ever memorable 17th of June in the most honorable manner, and felt themselves more than fortunate in receiving your kind promise to be present at this great commemoration. But whether we should have it in our power, the next June, to make the beginning of the great monumental work which we design to construct, was at that time doubtful. You will sympathize, I am sure, in the pleasure we feel at finding such ample means already at the disposal of the Board of Directors, that they will be enabled, without fail, to lay the corner-stone of the monument on the 17th of June next.

I am instructed by the Committee, in this formal and official way, to repeat their invitation to you to be present on the interesting occasion, and to assure you that nothing contributes more to the interest with which we look forward to this great national ceremony than the circumstance that the "Nation's Guest" has kindly promised to witness it.

In behalf of the Committee of the Directors, I have the honor to be, dear General, your most faithful, humble servant,  
E. EVERETT.

The *fac-simile* of the holographic reply faces this chapter. There was much groundless fear as to the danger of wounding the good General's feelings on this matter. Lafayette was a good and true Freemason, and not only would have conceded the propriety of the corner-stone being laid in Masonic form, but of its being done by the Grand Master. He

would have, with equal frankness, assented to its being done by Mr. Webster, who evidently thought it belonged to himself, as President, to perform the august ceremony, and who probably had designed to make it a prominent feature of the celebration, in his own imposing manner.

On Lafayette's return to Boston for the great occasion, he said, "In all my travels through the country, I have made Bunker Hill my polar star." How true to his adopted country did his noble heart beat!

All the Light Infantry companies of Boston, Charlestown, and the neighboring towns, were invited to perform escort duty, in the following form, to which some of the responses are appended:—

Boston, June 9, 1825.

To

SIR, — In the name and behalf of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, you are hereby requested to invite the officers and men under your command to appear with you in uniform (with your own rations, because on this occasion it is absolutely impossible for the Association to provide them, as they gladly would do, if possible), for the purpose of performing escort and guard duty (or either, as may be necessary) at the celebration on the 17th June, 1825. You are respectfully requested to ascertain and report to the undersigned Committee on or before 12 o'clock at noon, on Monday the 14th instant, whether this request can be complied with. The companies and the whole procession will be under the command of Brigadier-General Lyman.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, for the Executive Committee of the B. H. M. A.,

Your obedient servant,

WM. SULLIVAN.



SALEM, 11th June, 1825.

HON. WM. SULLIVAN.

SIR, — I have the honor to inform you that the Cadets under my command do most cheerfully accept the invitation to perform escort and guard duty (or either, as may be necessary) on the 17th instant. With much respect, I am

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN S. BROWNE,  
*Capt. S. I. Cadets.*

---

CHARLESTOWN, June 11th, 1825.

SIR, — Having received your invitation, in behalf of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to attend the celebration on the 17th instant, I have laid the same before the company under my command, which they have accepted. I shall therefore expect to receive instructions from General Lyman as to time and place, and shall endeavor to pay that attention the nature of the occasion requires.

Respectfully yours,

SHADRACH VARNEY,  
*Capt. of Charlestown Light Infantry.*

To WM. SULLIVAN, Esq.

---

CAPTAIN JENKINS, of the Columbian Guards (Light Infantry Company of Charlestown), acknowledges the receipt of General Sullivan's very polite invitation to his company to parade on 17 June, and informs General Sullivan that he with his company will comply with the request, and will very cheerfully place themselves under the command of General Lyman, and perform any duty he may assign to them.

Boston, June 13th, 1825.

HON. WILLIAM SULLIVAN, *Chairman of the Executive Committee of the B. H. M. A.*

CONCORD, June 15.

SIR,—I received your invitation yesterday morn, and with pleasure accept, for myself, officers, and soldiers under my command.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS JARVIS, JR.

---

DORCHESTER, June 16, 1825.

SIR,—The invitation of the Executive Committee of the B. H. M. Association to perform field duty on the occasion of the anniversary of the 17th instant is accepted, and I shall report for orders on the Common to-morrow morning.

Respectfully,

WALTER BAKER.

---

SALEM, June 11, 1825.

TO THE HON. WM. SULLIVAN.

SIR,—The Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, under my command, have been honored with an invitation from the Executive Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to participate in the celebration on the 17th June, 1825. Agreeable to request, I have made it known to my company; and with pleasure I inform you that we respectfully accept your highly favored invitation.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID PULSIFER, JR.

General Lyman, being then a Representative, reported the following resolutions:—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, June 11, 1825.

The Select Committee, to whom was referred the communication of the Executive Committee of the Bunker Hill Monu-

ment Association, have considered the matter committed to them, and now report the following resolutions.

For the Committee.

THEODORE LYMAN, JR.

*Resolved*, That this House do accept the invitation of the Directors of the B. H. M. Association to be present at the laying of the corner-stone to the monument, on the 17th day of this month.

*Resolved*, That the members of this House will walk in the procession that is to be formed on the 17th instant, in the order of their seniority.

*Resolved*, That the Committee that has reported these resolutions be directed to communicate these resolutions to the Directors of the B. H. M. Association.

Read and agreed to.

PELHAM W. WARREN, *Clerk*.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, June 13, 1825.

Every possible effort was made to procure the attendance of the Revolutionary soldiers ; and one hundred and ninety were gathered together, of whom forty were in the battle of Bunker Hill. The Legislature defrayed their expenses of coming. Most of them were able to walk in the procession. The following letter to General Sullivan showed how scrupulous they were in those days as to place : —

Josiah Bowers, of Lancaster, was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and was on Bunker Hill on the 17th of June, 1775. He did not get quite into the battle, but got within a few rods of the battle. When they retreated, he was sent in the recruit, and he remained in the army through the war. Can he be permitted in the procession, as other Revolutionary soldiers?

JONATHAN PRESCOTT.

Rev. Joseph Thaxter, of Edgartown, who was chaplain of Colonel Prescott's regiment, was present, and was the chaplain of the day. The regimental drummer was also there; and, in marching up Bunker Hill, he beat the drum to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," exciting the cheers of the vast concourse of people.

Although the means of conveyance by land in those days were limited to the stage-coach and to private vehicles of all sorts, there was no lack of the attendance of the people. Every thing seemed to be put in requisition to bring them here, and to accommodate them and their horses during their stay. They flocked here from every part of the State. Other States sent large delegations, and notably New York, South Carolina, and all New England. To the South Carolina delegation a cordial greeting was specially given by the Directors.

The only avenue to Charlestown was Charles River bridge, which was a toll bridge. By vote of its directors, it was declared free for that day; and Mayor Quincy gave orders that the police should protect it as far as the jurisdiction of the city went, which was to the draw.

The procession was admitted to be the finest pageant that had ever been seen in this country. The day was a perfect June day. Not a cloud was visible; and the showers of the preceding day gave a freshness to the green sward of the many vacant fields; and, in the pure atmosphere and clear sky, the bright uniforms of the soldiery and the rich Masonic regalia and banners shone with a peculiar lustre.

As the head of the column reached Charlestown Square, the rear on Boston Common had not commenced to move. The route was as indicated in Committee's report. All the church-bells in Boston and Charlestown were ringing while the procession was in motion; and they strikingly suggested to the multitude the wonderful contrast between that joyous spectacle and the stormy scenes of the 17th June, 1775, when their fathers gazed in dread suspense upon the great opening contest in which the new republic was baptized in the flames of burning Charlestown.

Colonel Samuel Jaques was the chief marshal upon the grounds; and, with a large corps of assistants, backed by detachments of the military, was barely able to keep the reserved space clear until the procession arrived. He was a gentleman of the old school, tall, erect, and portly, in size and bearing not unlike Mr. Webster. He wore a blue dress coat and buff vest, — a style in which Mr. Webster frequently appeared. The two were great friends.

As the body of the civic procession came upon the grounds, a hollow square was formed, enclosing the site of the proposed monument, and the Masonic services began. The corner-stone was laid by the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, John Abbot. Lafayette stood by, and received from him the trowel, and spread the cement over the stone. He wore the Masonic apron during this ceremony and the other exercises on the hill; and, when he laid it aside, Mr. Francis C. Whis-

ton, one of the marshals, and the toast-master at the dinner, took it at once into his possession, and carefully preserved it.

The Masonic services over, the large assembly repaired to the northern declivity of the hill, where an amphitheatre was arranged with seats. At the lower part was the stage, with a canopy, elegantly adorned, surmounted by a gilded eagle. Upon this stage the orator, the chief guests, and the Revolutionary soldiers were placed. On either side was a platform covered with an awning, and each was filled with ladies, who were patiently waiting for the commencement of the exercises. When Rev. Mr. Thaxter stepped forward to offer prayer, the whole air was hushed to a profound stillness, and there was a sea of uncovered heads before him. Half a century before, he stood on that hill, and prayed for Colonel Prescott and his men, and for a blessing on the American cause. During the battle, he was urging the men to their duty, and paid the last offices to some of those who there consummated their service to country with their life offering. He was then in the spring of life; and now, in the frost of age, as with a clear but faltering voice and evident emotion he uttered his prayer of thankfulness and praise, his attenuated form appeared like that of a mortal then about to put on immortality.

An ode by Rev. John Pierpont was next sung. Then followed the oration. It was calculated that the arrangement of the awning would screen the orator from the sun's rays during its delivery ; but the un-

expected delay of nearly three hours brought the sun lower down, so as to shine upon the front of the stage. As Mr. Webster stepped forward, Lafayette beckoned to him to stand back in a place which was shaded; but he gracefully declined, and he faced the sun with his eagle eye, advancing even as near as he could to the uncounted multitude before him. This act was greeted with profound applause.

Many still live who heard that master-piece of genuine eloquence, and to them it is a proud remembrance. The exordium alludes to the time and place of meeting of the great assembly, the half-century anniversary of the first great battle of the American Revolution, and this the very spot among the "sepulchres of our fathers." He compares that event with the discovery of America by Columbus, of which he gives a graphic picture, and to the landing of the fathers at Plymouth; but the American Revolution he declares to be the great prodigy of events, and the wonder and blessing of the world. He announces then the object of the Association, in erecting a national monument to the memory of the early friends of American independence on that memorable spot, to be preferred to all others, — not, indeed, to perpetuate national hostility nor to cherish a purely military spirit, but to promote peace and progress, a love of country, and a pure patriotism, both in the time of prosperity and disaster; and, under the blessing of God, he bids the monument "to rise till it meet the sun in his coming." He addresses the survivors of that battle then before him, with a touching apostrophe to the memory of the first great Martyr; then he addresses the other sur-

viving soldiers, the veterans of half a century ; and, after a brief description of the battle, he addresses Lafayette, whom the sensation which its intelligence created in Europe prompted to come over to help us, with his life and fortune. The great changes which the half century had produced in the direction of human progress and improvement then became his theme. In his fine peroration, he exhorts his countrymen to preserve and improve upon what their fathers achieved; and, by a perfect parody, he announces the duty of an American citizen to his country to be full as obligatory as that of a witness under oath to the cause of truth and justice, so that the country itself should become a monument, great, powerful, and permanent, of which the structure about to be erected should be an everlasting type. The conception of the whole discourse was magnificent; and, being grandly sustained in all its parts, its effect upon the immense auditory, carried away by his lofty sentiments, mingled into one mass, and wrought up as one man to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, was really sublime.

Mr. Buckingham, afterwards President of the Association, in his contemporaneous account, finding himself powerless to do adequate justice, applied to Mr. Webster the following couplet : —

“To those who know thee not no words can paint ;  
And those who know thee know all words are faint.”

The singing of a hymn composed by Rev. James Flint of Salem, concluding prayer by Rev. James Walker of Charlestown, the singing of an ode, and



the benediction by the venerable chaplain, concluded these memorable exercises, which were conducted in the presence and hearing of over twenty thousand people.

A dinner followed. The Association, their chief guests, and a considerable portion of the Masonic Fraternity then repaired to the elder Bunker Hill, where they sat down to the tables in a large tent, to the number of about four thousand. The public dinner in those days was more orderly, and more social and enjoyable, than that of the present time. For the intellectual entertainment, there would be a series of regular toasts, — generally thirteen, to correspond with the original number of the States. These were announced by the toast-master in order, and followed by appropriate music, the tunes being all previously arranged. Volunteer toasts and songs would be interspersed ; but long speeches were ignored. The subjects of the regular toasts at this dinner were: 1. The 17th June, 1775 ; 2. The Militia ; 3. The Committee of Safety ; 4. The Martyrs of Bunker Hill Battle ; 5. Bunker Hill Monument ; 6. Survivors of Bunker Hill Battle ; 7. Lexington and Concord ; 8. The President of the United States ; 9. The Governor of the Commonwealth ; 10. The Continental Army ; 11. The Memory of Washington ; 12. The Continental Congress ; 13. The Memory of Warren.

After these were all drank, the President, Mr. Webster, arose, and with a few introductory words proposed : —

“Health and a long life to General Lafayette.”

The General, with a preface equally brief, gave the following sentiment : —

“Bunker Hill, and the holy resistance to oppression which has already enfranchised the American hemisphere. The next half century’s jubilee toast shall be, **TO ENFRANCHISED EUROPE.**”

What profound faith the gallant General had in the cause to which he gave his life! Although the prophecy has not been exactly fulfilled in the sense in which he intended, still, in looking back over the progress of the last half century, we may say that the leaven of American institutions has somewhat leavened the whole European lump.

In the evening, there were two grand receptions : one given by Colonel Jaques, the chief marshal, at his residence in Washington Street, Charlestown ; and the other by Mr. Webster, at his elegant house, now demolished, in Summer Street, Boston, — both of which were attended by Lafayette and other distinguished personages.

Mr. Webster, with his characteristic generosity, presented his Address to the Association, the copyright of which was readily sold for six hundred dollars, — a large sum in those days, — whereby he became at that time, after William Phillips, the largest contributor to the monument.





*J. G. Warren.*





Figure 1



## CHAPTER VIII.

Yet ne'er the less  
Tower thou in majesty, nor fainter stamp  
Thy outline on the clouds.

Brief man may pass  
On with his generations to the tomb;  
But wait thou till the dim decay of time, —  
Yea, stand and gaze on Nature's dying throes,  
See the skies shrivel and the faint stars fall,  
And the pale sun, like wounded Cæsar, fold  
His mantle darkly round him, — hear the shriek  
Of old Creation, when dissolving fires  
Envelop her, — and so decline at last,  
But with the solid globe.

**J**OHNS COLLINS WARREN was looked up to by his associates as a leading spirit in their great undertaking. He took the first step by securing a large portion of the battle-ground before the corporation was formed; and as Tudor was soon afterwards called away to South America, and Webster and Everett were engaged for a good portion of the year in their congressional duties at Washington, he was frequently addressed by the several Directors, when they had any particular suggestions to make. Though at this time high in the rank of the medical profession, both as a surgeon and general practitioner, and performing all the while many other public duties which devolved upon him, he attempted to do every thing which was required of him in this regard with astonishing prompt-

ness. Mr. Everett wrote to him on one occasion of a special service he had rendered: "I once thought I was active, but your industry and zeal have put me to shame." Nor was he in any way solicitous that exclusive or even special honor should be paid to the memory of his uncle, the glorious martyr, in the plan of the Monument. On the contrary, he took the lead in obtaining the advice and co-operation of the friends and kindred of all the heroes of the Battle of Bunker Hill; and when General Dearborn, imbibing the unaccountable prejudices of his father in relation to the merits and claims of Putnam, strenuously objected to any of his family being elected, Dr. Warren was mainly instrumental in silencing his opposition, and procuring the election of Colonel Daniel Putnam, the son of the brave General, as Director. Upon his motion, also, the following Resolutions written by him were adopted by the Directors at a meeting held April 5, 1825: —

*Resolved*, 1. That a final decision in regard to the kind of Monument to be erected shall be made only at a meeting of Directors warned by special notice to each individual, and also by advertisement in two newspapers in Boston, twenty days before the time of such meeting.

2. That every decision relative to the land owned by the B. H. M. Association in Charlestown, so far as regards laying out roads or paths, elevating or depressing, selling, or in any other way disposing of said land or any part of it, or erecting buildings thereon, be made at a meeting of the Directors held in the manner pointed out in the preceding Resolution; and at no other meeting of any description.

3. That whenever the Directors shall judge expedient to take measures to come to a decision in regard to the kind of Monument to be erected, they shall elect a Board to whom shall be submitted all plans and designs which may be pre-



sented, in order that this Board may give an opinion as to the superiority of any plan or design thus presented; and, farther, that the said BOARD OF ARTISTS be requested to give their opinion in regard to any other plan which may occur to them, beside those which may have been laid before them by the Directors.

At this same meeting, the Directors proceeded to elect the Board of Artists created by the last Resolution, and the Standing Committee were requested to retire and nominate seven gentlemen to serve thereon. The Standing Committee withdrew, and after consultation brought in the names of only five: DANIEL WEBSTER, GILBERT STUART, WASHINGTON ALLSTON, LOAMMI BALDWIN, and GEORGE TICKNOR.

The Directors accepted the nomination "both as to the persons named and the number of them;" and these distinguished gentlemen, all men of national renown, were constituted the Board of Artists. Although the magical number of seven was first determined upon, the Standing Committee undoubtedly found it impossible to select the two others, whose services could readily be obtained, and who would have added materially to the weight of authority of these five in matters of art; and the Directors also were satisfied both with the number and the selection.

The Standing Committee in January, 1825, had caused to be inserted in the leading newspapers of Boston, and of other cities of the country, their invitation to artists to furnish plans of whatever character or design, for the proposed Monument. In the invitation, the Committee stated, "although there are some obvious recommendations of a column as the

best form for a monumental structure on the spot in question, yet the Committee are determined to propose no plan whatever to the Association till they have had the means of comparing all the suggestions which may be offered by the architectural skill and genius of the country. . . . But as a column is recommended by various local circumstances, and appears to enjoy a general preference, the Committee are particularly desirous to receive plans of a monumental column of about 220 feet in height, to be built of hewn granite."

A premium was offered in the following terms: "It is wished that proposals should contain two plans: one, the architectural plan and elevation of the work, with a suitable scale; vertical and horizontal sections of the interior; particular statements of the proportions and magnitudes of the members; and, if a column, drawings of the ornamental portions of the pedestal: and the other, a handsomely finished perspective view of the work. For the plan of this description which shall appear to merit the preference, the Committee offer a reward of one hundred dollars."

The Standing Committee, it will be seen from their advertisement, were decidedly in favor of adopting the column, and Dr. Warren was the only one of the Committee who, in the final vote after the long discussion, turned against its adoption. On November 4, 1824, the Standing Committee voted that Mr. Willard be authorized to draw a plan of a monument projected on a large scale, to be painted for the purposes of exhibition to the Legislature, and the citizens of Boston and the vicinity. Mr. Willard complied with this

request, and presented a plan which was highly satisfactory to the Committee, who explained to him, through Mr. Everett, the reason for their offering a public reward for the best plan to be submitted, — that they felt it their duty in discharge of a public trust to make a general advertisement to the artists of the country, — and solicited his permission to keep his plan and to compensate him therefor.

In a letter to Dr. Warren, written in February, 1825, before the appointment of the Board of Artists, Mr. Willard withdrew "from the contest about the designs," and wished a "God-speed" to the Association. He also wrote the following letter to Dr. Warren: —

DEAR SIR, — I believe that there has been some mistake in stating that the column which has been estimated for would be the highest in the world. I have lately seen in a periodical work a description of one erected after the Battle of Austerlitz, which is 246 feet high, including the statue. The statue is 11 feet high. The height of the one estimated for is 210 feet. The mistake originated, I believe, with General Dearborn, but I do not know whether it is of much importance. It will not be in my power to furnish the drawings mentioned so soon as they are wanted, and as I understand that the Committee expect them from another quarter, I suppose it will be no disappointment.

I shall consider myself honored in aiding the cause as far as my influence extends, and also in subscribing my mite to defray the expense of the undertaking; but I have no wish to enter into any contest about the designs.

Yours, &c.,

SOLOMON WILLARD.

On April 12, when Mr. Webster was elected President of the Association by the Directors, he

made a Report in part of the doings of the Board of Artists, of which he was chairman. The further consideration of this Report was postponed to the next meeting, and the Board was requested to report at that time "which of the plans submitted be entitled to the premium of one hundred dollars as the best submitted plan." It seems that a large number of plans were submitted, about fifty, as nearly as can now be ascertained, some of which were sent at a considerable expense from a great distance, as that of Mr. Robert Mills from Columbia, South Carolina, which was in the form of an obelisk.

On April 26, the Board made the following Report: —

The Committee to whom were referred the plans and designs, &c., of different artists for a Monument on Bunker Hill, beg leave further to report, —

That the number of designs, plans, and models is very considerable, and that several of them show much talent and great architectural skill. The Committee, however, feeling more and more persuaded that a column is not properly a monumental structure such as the purposes of the Bunker Hill Association require, have been obliged, from this consideration, to reject a large proportion of the plans and designs submitted to them. Setting these aside, therefore, they recommend that the premium of one hundred dollars be awarded to Mr. Horatio Greenough for the model and section of an obelisk; and this model and all the remaining plans and designs are herewith presented to the Directors for their further consideration.

The Committee, however, do not wish to be understood as advising that the Monument on Bunker Hill be erected precisely according to the model and plan of Mr. Greenough.

On the contrary, they feel unable at present to give any opinion other than the opinion contained in their last Report, and are intimately persuaded that they have not yet sufficient grounds and materials to form one that would satisfy either the Directors or themselves.

DAN'L WEBSTER.  
GEO. TICKNOR.  
W. ALLSTON.  
G. STUART.

APRIL 25, 1825.

The following communication from Mr. Greenough accompanied the model presented by him, and, it is presumed, was presented with the Report together with his model: —

*To the Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

GENTLEMEN, — Having designed an obelisk instead of a column, and presented a model rather than a perspective drawing for the purpose of illustration, it has seemed to me proper to explain what might be interpreted a wilful or negligent disregard to the published proposals of your committee.

I have given you my design in a model, because, as it may be examined from every quarter, it may be said to *contain* in itself a perspective of the object, as seen from *every point* instead of *one only*, and is on that account more easily and perfectly understood.

I have made choice of the obelisk as the most purely *monumental* form of structure. The column, grand and beautiful as it is *in its place* (where it stands beneath the weight of a pediment, and supports a long line of heavy entablature), considered as a monument, seems liable to unanswerable objections. It steps forth from that *body*, of which it has been made a harmonious *part*, to take a situation which, of all others, requires *unity* of form: hence the more completely it has been *fitted* to a situation so different, the greater must be

the number of *useless* appendages and *unmeaning* parts when it assumes its new place and office ; in fact, that increase in the upper part of the shaft of the column, in each of the Greek orders, as plainly implies a *weight above*, to be supported, as the base implies a *ground* on which to *stand*.

The proportions of this obelisk are taken from one at ancient Thebes. The height from the ground to the top of the plinth is twenty feet ; from the plinth to the apex of the shaft, one hundred feet.

A circular stair-case, lighted by narrow windows or glazed loop-holes, — which could not be seen at a short distance, — might be carried as high as the base of the pyramid in which the structure terminates. This stair-case might be entered at one of the sides of the plinth by a door, of the same color as the rest of the building, and made without any projecting parts about it, so that the lines would not be cut up, or the masses of light and shadow broken.

The entrance would be reached by ascending a flight of twenty steps, which are to be seen on each side of the lower base in the model. The four blocks at the angles are designed to receive four groups of monumental or allegorical sculpture. These are indicated by the pieces of clay seen on those parts of the model. But, should any circumstance prevent or delay the erection of these, four large field-pieces would form noble and appropriate ornaments, and would contrast pleasingly with the general form of the other parts of the structure.

The scale in the drawing of the section is reduced to one-half that of the model. — No. 12.

The record states with regard to this Report, "On motion, and after discussion of the principles of the Report, it was voted to lay this Report on the table." It was understood that Colonel Baldwin concurred with his associates on the Board of Artists, though his signature was not appended to the Report, as he was

absent when it was written. Mr. Ticknor was the only member of the Board present at this meeting of the Directors, Mr. Stuart and Mr. Allston not being Directors. As the feeling of the Board was then pretty general in favor of the adoption of the column, it is not very surprising that this course was taken. Other pressing matters awaited the attention of the Directors in view of the arrangements for the coming 17th June, and the Report was not again called up, nor was the promised reward ever bestowed.

Mr. Greenough was a native of Boston, and was then about to graduate from Harvard College in the class of 1825, and to devote his life to art, in which he afterwards achieved the highest distinction, reflecting honor upon his Alma Mater and his country. His fine model of the obelisk form of the monument, and his brief cogent statement of its superior merits to the column, did much to change the general opinion in its favor. Although he did not receive the one hundred dollars offered, — which the Association could ill afford to pay, — the unanimous award of the Board of Artists, as impartial as it was distinguished, to whom the selection of the best design of all those submitted was intrusted, was the highest testimonial that could be given him. It was greatly valued by him, and, since his decease, has been proudly cherished by his family, as the auspicious first fruit of his professional success.

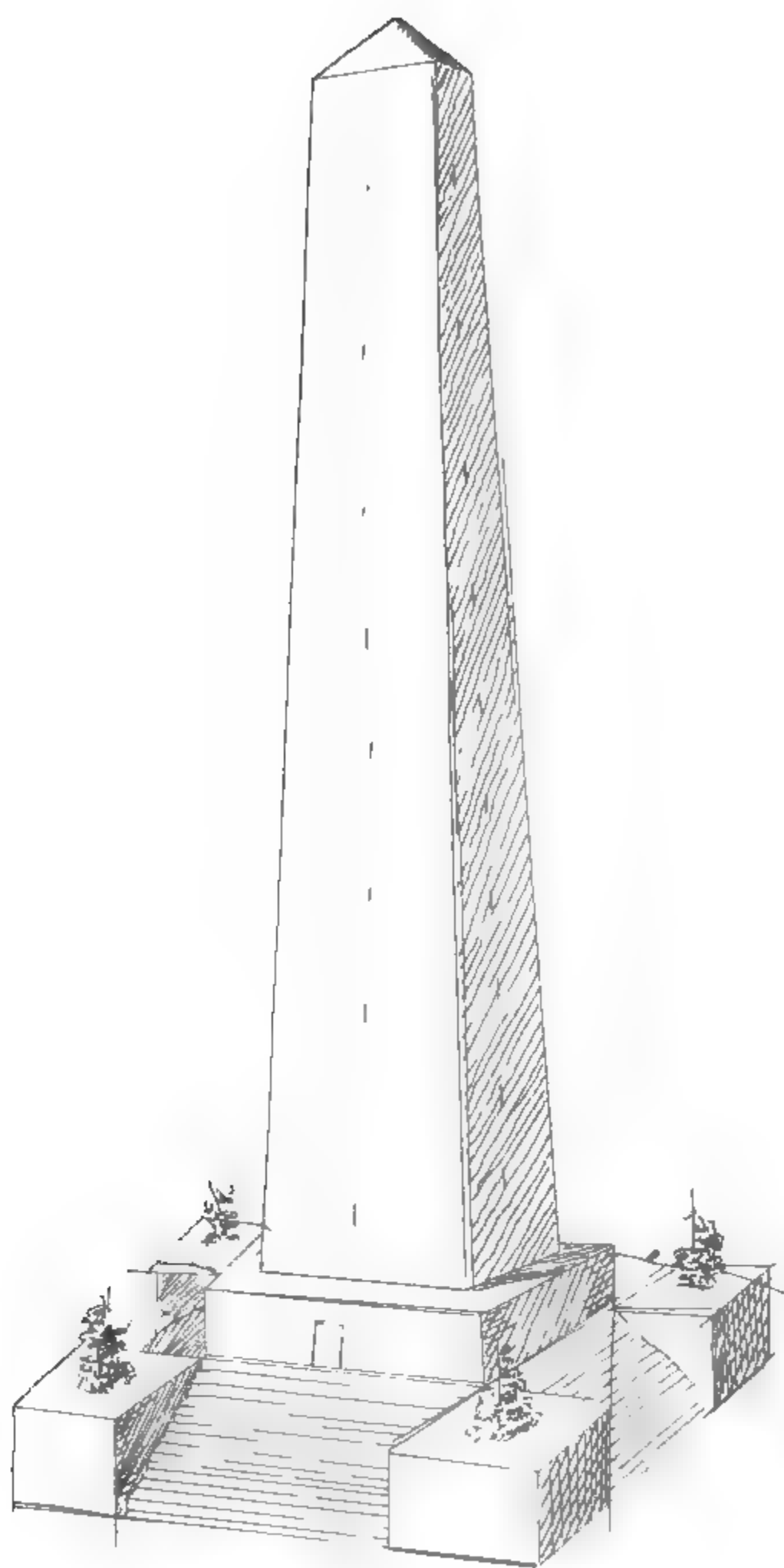
The model offered by Horatio Greenough is distinctly remembered by many. It was of wood, painted of the color of granite. It had a flight of steps to

the base, with blocks at the corners for the reception of suitable objects as ornaments, and a broad platform designed for statues, to be provided at a future period. When returned to Mr. Greenough, it had the word "Adopted" written upon it in a slanting direction by Gilbert Stuart. After the decision of the Board, he said to Warren Dutton, Esq., "An artist never has a pencil in his pocket: lend me yours." Mr. Dutton gave him one, and saw him write the word.

The model was two feet high. It was an exquisite thing, and spoke its own praise to the general eye. The wish has been expressed that whoever of the family relatives of the great sculptor may now have it will consent to place it in the possession of the Association. Colonel Swett, one of the committee last appointed to report the plan of a monument in the obelisk form, gave the authorship of the present plan of the Monument to Greenough. Amos Lawrence, also, in a letter to Professor Packard, of Bowdoin College, dated "December 30, 1852, evening," the day before he died, — and said to be the last letter he wrote, — stated that Greenough's plan "was substantially adopted, although the column was amended by the talents, taste, and influence of Loammi Baldwin, one of our Directors."

On May 19, 1825, the special notice of twenty days required by the Resolution offered by Dr. Warren having been previously given, a meeting was held to act upon the plan of the Monument. Dr. Warren received on the same day the following letter from a Boston architect: —





MODEL BY HORATIO GREENOUGH  
FROM A ROUGH SKETCH BY HIM.



Boston, 19th May, 1825.

Dr. J. C. WARREN.

SIR, — I send you a model of a monument, to be offered to the Committee of Bunker Hill Association, which meets to-day to decide on a plan ; and I regret that want of time has prevented a more finished design. An attempt is made in this model to combine the associations connected with the important event it is intended to commemorate, with convenience and the public subscriptions.

1. The obelisk may be of any height, and the base of any extent, adapted to the funds of the Society. Should an ascent to the top of the obelisk be required, it is proposed to affix the stairs to its sides, as spiral stairs fatigue the passenger by compelling a constant change of step adapted to stairs constantly diminishing as they ascend. This is felt by all who ascend the Washington Monument in Baltimore. To obviate the objection to windows in the sides of the obelisk, it is proposed to admit light from the top.

2. As stairs on the outside of a fort militate with all the uses of fortification, while they diminish the grandeur of every large design, the entrance is by a main gate in the base, and the ascent by steps in the base of the obelisk.

3. It is proposed that the platform be sufficiently extensive for a promenade, and for groups of statuary, which the future resources, invention, and gratitude of posterity may supply.

4. Cannon are placed on the four bastions, to be used at every anniversary, and for other celebrations connected with American independence.

All which are submitted, with respect, by your humble servant,

G. W. BRIMMER.

At this meeting, Mr. Webster, the President, both the Vice-Presidents, Colonel Perkins and Judge Story, and nearly all the Directors, were present. There was a long and animated debate. The result was the passage of the following votes: —

*Voted*, That a Committee of five be appointed to report the plan of an obelisk, and also of a column, with estimates of the expense of each.

That this Committee consist of the following gentlemen: General Dearborn, E. Everett, Mr. Knowles, Colonel Harris, Colonel Perkins.

The meeting adjourned to June 7, only ten days before the time for the great celebration, to hear the Report. At this adjourned meeting the following Report was presented:—

*Report of the Committee on Plans of an Obelisk and a Column.*

The Committee which was directed to report plans of an obelisk and a column, with estimates of the cost of each, considered it unsafe to trust to the genius and taste of modern times in the selection of designs of monuments which were ancient in origin and execution.

The obelisk having been first and almost exclusively erected in Egypt, engravings of the most celebrated now standing were examined; but, being placed on a simple tablet of stone, their appearance in an isolated position, detached from the approaches of the splendid temples whose extended avenues or spacious areas they once embellished, is desolate, naked, and rude; and they only become interesting and imposing from an association of their great antiquity, and the imagined legends of their unintelligible hieroglyphics, with the fact that such lofty and ponderous masses of stone were wrought from a single block of Thebaic granite. They were therefore rejected as models. Those which had been transported to Rome and Constantinople, and placed on appropriate pedestals by distinguished artists, next claimed attention; and drawings on an extended scale were made of the two which Augustus and Constantius brought from Heliopolis and Alexandria, and placed in the Great Circus; and ultimately that which stands in the Square of St. Giovanni was

selected, being, with its pedestal, considered the most symmetrical and magnificent.

This was the largest obelisk brought to Rome, the length of the shaft being one hundred and fifteen feet. The Emperor Constantine intended to have placed it in one of the public squares in Constantinople, and had it brought down the Nile from Thebes to Alexandria, to be from thence transported to his new city; but, after his death, his son Constantius made a visit to Rome, in the year 357, and, as a proof of his regard for the ancient city of the empire, he had this trophy brought from Egypt, and placed upon the Spina of the Circus Maximus, ninety feet distant from that of Augustus.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, it was found buried in the ruins of that magnificent circus, and placed in the Square of St. Giovanni, by order of Pope Sixtus V., under the direction of that celebrated architect and engineer, Dominico Fontana. The lower end having been shattered by its fall, it became necessary to cut off seven feet to obtain a plane and solid base, so that it is now only one hundred and eight feet high. The breadth at the bottom is nine feet six inches, and eight feet thick.

The Committee present an elevation of this obelisk, and analytical plans of the proposed construction.

Mr. Willard, the architect who made the drawings, states that he was assisted by Mr. G. Bryant, an experienced mason, in estimating the cost of erecting such an obelisk of blocks of granite, and that it will amount to \$60,000.

In selecting a plan for a column, the members of the Committee were guided by the same principles which induced them to decide on the form of an obelisk; and, of the six colossal columns now standing, Trajan's in Rome is the most ancient, — except, perhaps, that called Pompey's, near Alexandria, — and has been ever considered the most perfect in form and magnificent in execution.

Of all the stupendous buildings which were in the Trajan Forum, nothing remains but this column. It was designed

and executed by Apollodorus, the most celebrated architect of Rome.

The whole height of the column is 147 feet, according to some writers, and others make it 141; the shaft, 108; the pedestal, 19; and the crowning, about 14 feet. The diameter of the shaft is represented to be from  $12\frac{4}{12}$  to 13 feet. It is composed of 33 tamboons, or blocks, of white marble; the pedestal being of 8, the base 1, the shaft 23, and the capital of 1.

The bas-reliefs of the pedestal represent trophies and barbarian arms. The shaft is adorned with bas-reliefs, mounting spirally from the bottom to the top, representing the victories of Trajan over the Dacæ, which begin from the passage of the Danube. This band of bas-reliefs passes twenty-three times round the shaft. On the top was a gilt-bronze statue of Trajan.

Trajan had ordered this column to be erected; but as he died at Selinus, on his return from his Eastern conquests in 117, it was completed by the senate and people of Rome, and dedicated to him; and his ashes were put in a globe, which his statue held in its left hand.

Sixtus V. finding the pedestal of the column buried by the accumulation of the ruins of numerous edifices and of earth, he caused an excavation to be made around it quite to the bottom, and placed the statue of St. Peter upon the top.

This grand structure was monumental, honorary, historical, and triumphal. It has been the model of that erected to Marcus Aurelius, commonly called the Antonine column; of the Theodosian in Constantinople; and of the one erected by the Emperor Napoleon in the Place Vendôme. Distinguished artists have considered it the paragon of columns, while the scientific and accomplished Freart pronounced it the queen of architecture. Learned travellers, of every age and country, have been lavish in its praise; and for nearly seventeen centuries it has braved the ravages of time, the ruinous incursions of barbarians, the devastations of wars, and still proudly stands, the admiration of the world.

From these facts and considerations, and unwilling to run the risk of compromising the character of the Association, the State, or country, by rendering either obnoxious to censure from a solecism in architectural taste, the Committee did not hesitate to recommend a like structure, extended to two hundred and twenty feet in height, with a proportional diameter, but excluding the bas-reliefs on the pedestal, and those which ascend spirally round the shaft, leaving it chastened to its graceful flutings. A castellated stereobata was added, to embrace the steps: and on the bastioned angles it is proposed to place, mounted on iron or bronze carriages, the cannon presented by the Legislature; thus exhibiting the kind of fortress and arms which were in use at the period the battle was fought, as a substitute for the pile of barbarian trophies and military weapons on which the column of Trajan appears to be reared.

Mr. Paris, the architect who furnished the elevations, estimates the cost at \$74,000; and, the plan having been submitted to Mr. Willard, he calculates the expense of the structure at \$75,000: but, if of large blocks of from three to twelve tons, and three-feet courses, it will amount to \$85,000. Both of these artists were aided in their estimates by some of our most experienced mechanics, and therefore great reliance is to be reposed on their results.

H. A. S. DEARBORN,

JUNE 2, 1825.

*Chairman of the Committee on Plans.*

This Report was discussed at great length, and the question was finally taken by yeas and nays, and each Director, being called in turn, answered as follows:—

Daniel Webster, President,	No.	Amos Lawrence	. . .	No.
Joseph Story, Vice „	No.	Jesse Putnam	. . .	Yes.
Nathan Appleton . . .	No.	Seth Knowles	. . .	Yes.
Loammi Baldwin . . .	No.	Samuel Swett	. . .	No.
Henry A. S. Dearborn .	Yes.	William Sullivan	. . .	No.
George Blake . . .	Yes.	David Sears . . .	. . .	No.
Isaac P. Davis . . .	No.	George Ticknor . . .	. . .	No.
Samuel D. Harris . . .	Yes.	John C. Warren . . .	. . .	No.

So the Report was rejected by the vote of five in the affirmative to eleven in the negative, and the column fell to the ground.

It was then

*Voted*, That the form of an obelisk shall be adopted for the proposed Monument, or in other words a pyramidal structure such as may be hereafter agreed on.

The following Committee was then chosen by ballot to report a design of an obelisk, or pyramidal structure, and to consider and report on the subject generally: Loammi Baldwin, George Ticknor, Jacob Bigelow, Samuel Swett, Washington Allston.

Thus was definitely settled the form of the Bunker Hill Monument, and the prevailing opinion which was originally entertained in favor of the column yielded to the confirmed judgment of the Board of Artists, which was probably reached by them after long deliberation, assisted in some measure at least by the arguments of Mr. Greenough and other architects.

Mr. Everett, as soon as informed of the result, gracefully yielded in the following patriotic letter: —

WEST POINT, June 14, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your favor of the 9th this morning, and am much obliged to you for the precise and candid account you give me of the decision. I had, I confess, pretty much made up my mind, as you are aware, on the other side; and not having the advantage of hearing the debate, which preceded the decision, have had no reason to depart from my first conclusion; except the natural distrust I must, of course, feel in any judgment so powerfully opposed. As it is, I acquiesce, with greatest cheerfulness, in the will of



the majority. I should be unwilling, on every account, to be made unhappy at not being able to carry a point relative to the monument, — when I remember that Prescott lost the battle and Warren his life, on the spot where the monument is to stand.

Being much occupied with the examination here (which is not expected to close till the 26th), I have only time to request you, if the dinner should be prolonged till volunteer toasts are in order, and if it be perfectly convenient to you, to do me the favor to propose the following for me: —

“ The Heights of Charlestown, — consecrated by the blood of our fathers, adorned by the gratitude of their children. May the Monument stand the comparison which after time will make between *Our* spirit in commemorating and *Theirs* in achieving.”

I am much obliged to you for missing me. I believe, however, there will be no lack of company. Mr. Webster writes me that all goes on well.

In haste, very faithfully yours,

E. EVERETT.

General Dearborn, however, was not so ready to give up his strong convictions, but wrote to Colonel Perkins the following letter, to be read to the Directors: —

BOSTON, July 5, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — In consequence of sickness in my family, it will not be in my power to attend the Directors' meeting this evening; but, as the obelisk reported will cost \$100,000, and as many gentlemen prefer a still larger one, permit me to urge the propriety of adopting the column of Trajan, which was exhibited some weeks since, and is now in our room.

It is certain we cannot finish the obelisk; and, if begun and raised fifty or one hundred feet, the reason that is urged in favor of that form of monument — viz., *that it will look well if built only half or two-thirds of its height* — will prevent an effort on the part of the public to finish it.

Now, the column has been estimated to cost but \$75,000 by two of our most distinguished architects, who are also practical men, and constantly are, and have long been, superintending the erection of stone edifices. I therefore do confide in their estimates.

We can leave out the crowning, the eagles at the corners of the pedestal, and the castellated base. This would lessen the cost of the column as follows: —

Crowning . . . . .	\$4,500
Bronze eagles . . . . .	6,000
Castellated base . . . . .	6,000
	<hr/>
	\$16,500
 Cost of column as per estimate . . . . .	 \$75,000
Deducting the above . . . . .	16,500
	<hr/>
Cost of the column . . . . .	\$58,500

Subscriptions can be more successfully extended for a column; and I am confident that, by the contributions of the public and the patronage of the State, funds *can* be obtained to finish the column in *three years*, in conformity to the altered plan.

It will look better without the crowning, if a statue does not surmount it; and it is perfect as an architectural structure without the eagles or castellated base. The two former may at any future period be added: in the mean time, it will be a magnificent structure.

I am quite sure a column will give more satisfaction to the public, and it is within our power to erect it; but I cannot indulge a hope of seeing an obelisk, of thirty or forty feet base, ever completed.

It is from a deep conviction that our *surest and best course* is to adopt the column, that I press this subject; *and, as it is the only remaining chance for stating these facts*, I beg you to make such use of them as you may think proper. My only object is to successfully accomplish what we have undertaken, and not leave it for posterity. *We are the posterity* of the times and deeds we wish to commemorate; and let us, there-

fore, not begin a structure which will for a century be a ruin.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

Col. TH. H. PERKINS.

The following estimate of Mr. Willard was probably furnished to General Dearborn at about the same time: —

DEAR SIR, — I have made a rough sketch and estimate for two columns, which have nearly the proportions of the Trajan and Antonine columns at Rome; excepting that the pedestals are a little higher than the pedestal of the Trajan column, and not so high as that of the Antonine. A column 220 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, having the figure of the sketch, will cost about \$37,000, if the construction be like the one in Baltimore, or like our common stone buildings, as represented on the plan marked *A*. If constructed of large blocks, as represented at *C* on the same plan, it will not cost much less than \$50,000 under the best management.

The small column, 120 feet high and 11.6 in diameter, will cost, if constructed of large blocks according to the sketch, about \$15,000. If the expense of any intermediate size should be required, its comparative cost will be nearly as the square of its diameter to the square of the diameter of the large column, supposing no error in the estimate.

N.B. — The estimates are made for granite equal to the base of the new United States Bank, State Street.

Yours, &c.,

SOLOMON WILLARD.

MONDAY, July.

General Dearborn desired to see the Monument completed in his time, and for the reason of economy preferred a plain column divested of ornaments, as being within the means of the Association. And yet

he was aware that at some future time there would be a demand for a statue to surmount it. On the contrary, General Sullivan was satisfied to see only the commencement of a grand work. He wrote Dr. Warren in relation to the obelisk: "I understand that the Committee will report thirty feet base. I shall vote against it. I am for forty, if it goes up but fifty feet in my day, and would prefer fifty feet base."

It will be observed that not only Mr. Everett, but Colonel Perkins, who was of the Committee in favor of the column, was absent at the time of the decision. Had Dr. Warren adhered to them, and had the three been present to re-enforce General Dearborn in his ardent support of the column, their combined influence might have enabled him to carry his point. This fact should be remembered in commendation of Dr. Warren, that, considering if the column had been adopted and erected, there was a general desire that it should some time be surmounted by a statue of his martyr uncle, his declaring for the obelisk, and probably turning the scale in favor of its adoption, was a noble relinquishment on his part of the opportunity of family honor to the unselfish desire to erect a monument that should be purely national.

The Directors were not without advice from other intelligent quarters. William Austin, an eminent counsellor of Charlestown, — a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1798, — an author also of great merit, and one of the grantors of the land of the Association, sent a communication recommending the

erection of an elegant, permanent building, containing a hall for lectures, an Athenæum, and a gallery of fine arts, — thus uniting the useful and ornamental with the commemorative. There is now no trace of the plan he proposed in existence, nor is it known how far he had furnished the details. It would appear, however, that he withdrew his objections to the Monument as he afterwards was elected on the Board of Directors.

It remained for William Ladd, — a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1797, — known as the Apostle of Peace, and President of the American Peace Society, to present his objections to the obelisk in this carefully prepared letter to his old classmate, which received the respectful consideration of the Directors, but, however, did not alter their views or purposes: —

MINOT, COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND, STATE OF MAINE,  
Jan. 3, 1826.

Doctor JOHN C. WARREN.

DEAR SIR, — In looking over the “plans of the Church of Batalha,” which you will receive with this, I find that I have associated in my mind the Mausoleum of King Emanuel, which is octagonal, with that of King John, which is square for the first story, and afterward an octagon. If you look at the “general plan” of the church (plate No. 1), you will find the ground plan of the mausoleum of Emanuel marked R, and the view and elevation of the same as it was intended to be built, in plate No. 14. This is certainly beautiful; but it is better suited to a level than a hill, — is too extensive and costly, and has many other objections, — though it would be very suitable for a national mausoleum at Washington.

The mausoleum of King John (the ground plan) you will

find on the general plan marked C, — the west elevation in plate No. 7, — the south elevation in plate No. 10, and a view of the interior in plate No. 11. I should propose the adoption of *this* plan with one alteration, viz., an octagonal base instead of a square one, — which I suppose was adopted in this case, on account of its being joined to the church, which would not have been done well in an octagonal form in the place in which it was situated.

I should prefer the octagonal base: 1st, because it is more in symmetry with the superstructure; 2d, because it encloses a greater space than the square, in proportion to the external surface; 3d, because it gives a greater height in proportion to the base in *reality*, and still greater in *appearance*, and lastly because I should not like a servile imitation of any model, however good. I should prefer to have the *main* part of the building of granite, the *ornamental*, both within and without, of the dark-colored freestone from Connecticut, or marble. You will please to observe that, by adopting the octagon for the base, the clumps of spires at each corner would be avoided, and the whole much simplified. It would also perhaps be well to omit some other parts of the ornamental work. I would have the windows of stained glass, and if practicable with appropriate devices. In the centre I would place a sarcophagus enclosing the remains of General Warren, and perhaps other sarcophagi under the adjoining alcoves, and tablets to the memory of other officers who fought on that day, whether slain or not, on the pillars; and appropriate places would be found for inscriptions describing the battle, — an account of the erection of the monument, — the names of the committee, donors, — laying of the corner-stone, &c. It is unnecessary to go further into detail, as the judgment of the Committee would, undoubtedly, suggest improvements. In the list of subscribers to this book, I find the name of Charles Bulfinch, Esq., of Boston. As he is a celebrated architect, if any such plan should be adopted, it would be well to consult him.

I pass now to considerations of a general nature, and will

offer some reasons why a mausoleum, something like what I have alluded to, would be preferable to a pillar or an obelisk.

The great objection to the pillar and obelisk is that they are *trophies* of victory. The obelisk is less objectionable than the pillar; but, whatever may be the intentions of the Committee, the obelisk is, and ever will be, considered as a trophy of victory, — a monument erected to national glory, — an object which will be the first to strike the eye of an Englishman, as he approaches our shores, in the same manner as the captured American standards in St. Paul's strike an American, — exciting feelings of mortified pride, hatred, and revenge. Now a monument which is *unequivocally* sepulchral will have no such effect.

By adopting the plan of a monument purely sepulchral, there would be a great accession to the funds of the Association. Many who now object to the obelisk, on account of its being considered by them as a trophy of victory, would very willingly come forward to aid in honoring the dead, provided they could do it without, as they think, endangering the peace of the living. Those, on the contrary, who have already subscribed can have no reasonable objections to the proposed plan, or, if they have, will be unwilling to avow them.

The proposed mausoleum would probably be more durable than the obelisk, — not from natural but from moral causes. Should war, foreign or civil, again ravage our country, the obelisk would furnish a quarry, from which the defenders of the city — in imitation of the conduct of the Athenians, who demolished their monuments to rebuild their walls — would draw materials for the fortification of Charlestown Neck, or the construction of a fort on the spot. This no one could object to, as necessity has no law. But the *assailants* might also use the materials, which a single barrel of gunpowder would prostrate on the ground, for similar purposes. This would not be the case with the mausoleum, the materials of which would be few in comparison with the other, and unfit for fortifications; and the beauty and sanctity of the structure would preserve it like the Lantern of Diogenes and the Acropolis, through ages of barbarism.

The obelisk furnishes no shelter for sarcophagi inscriptions, tablets, or sculpture of any kind, and should a statue be erected on Bunker Hill, even of colossal size, it would be lost in contiguity with the gigantic obelisk. The mausoleum furnishes a remedy for all this, and an area on which may be erected the *statues* of the heroes who fell in the conflict, — which may be carved by some future Phidias or Praxiteles, — which would be thus protected from the weather, and this building may in time be to Boston what Westminster Abbey is to London.

Foreigners have always reproached us for our want of taste, especially in Gothic models, and the “Yankee Gothic” has been the by-word of Europeans. The fact is, we are obliged to make our taste give way to our convenience. The congregation that builds a church must be comfortably accommodated with seats, let what will become of architecture. Here there are no such objections, and the mausoleum may exhibit a model of architecture, which for symmetry, beauty, durability, situation, and the most sacred moral associations, is not equalled in the world.

The obelisk must be vast and stupendous, or it is nothing. It can surprise only by its magnitude. It has no other attractive feature. Even then, if nearly viewed, it loses its effect, because the eye cannot take in the whole altitude. If viewed from a distance, even 220 feet of altitude would appear diminutive, because there is nothing to compare it with but the hill itself, in comparison with which it would only appear like a flagstaff. It must, therefore, be vast — immense. But, to be vast, it must also be very expensive. It is not easy to calculate the cost of raising large stones to the height of 220 feet. The expense of the bare staging would build a respectable mausoleum. Should the funds fail, — should dissensions arise, — should the obelisk remain unfinished, what a conspicuous and durable object of sarcasm and ridicule would it furnish its opponents at home and abroad!

The only use of the *monument* is to mark a place which, without it, would never be forgotten. As a token of a na-



tion's gratitude and honor to the mighty dead, it can never equal the mausoleum. As a monument of national glory, it is worse than nugatory. A nation may honor itself by gratitude to its benefactors, but a nation cannot honor itself by erecting trophies to its glory, any more than an individual can honor himself by erecting *his own* statue.

Finally the mausoleum would be useful, not only in every thing in which it comes in competition with the obelisk in preserving the inscriptions, sculpture, and archives, but in affording a place of meditation and retirement, where an American might meet with an Englishman as a reconciled brother, who might join him in admiration of English principles carried to perfection by descendants of Englishmen; and a place for future celebrations, where a small assembly might be addressed from a pulpit within, and a vast concourse from the balustrade without.

More might be said, but it is unnecessary. An objection arises, — that the *form* of the obelisk has been already determined on. This determination, however, as I understand, was only to give the obelisk the preference to the column. But, if it were otherwise, it must be remembered that second thoughts are often best. Many gentlemen of respectability agree with me on this subject. I have mentioned the plan to no one who has not immediately fallen in with it, and I think no one can have any objection. Any alteration then, if there be one, must be considered as a change of, and dictated by, public opinion.

I feel as though I ought to make some apology for having so far intruded on a subject in which I am only interested as a private individual; but I also feel as though I had already too far trespassed on your patience.

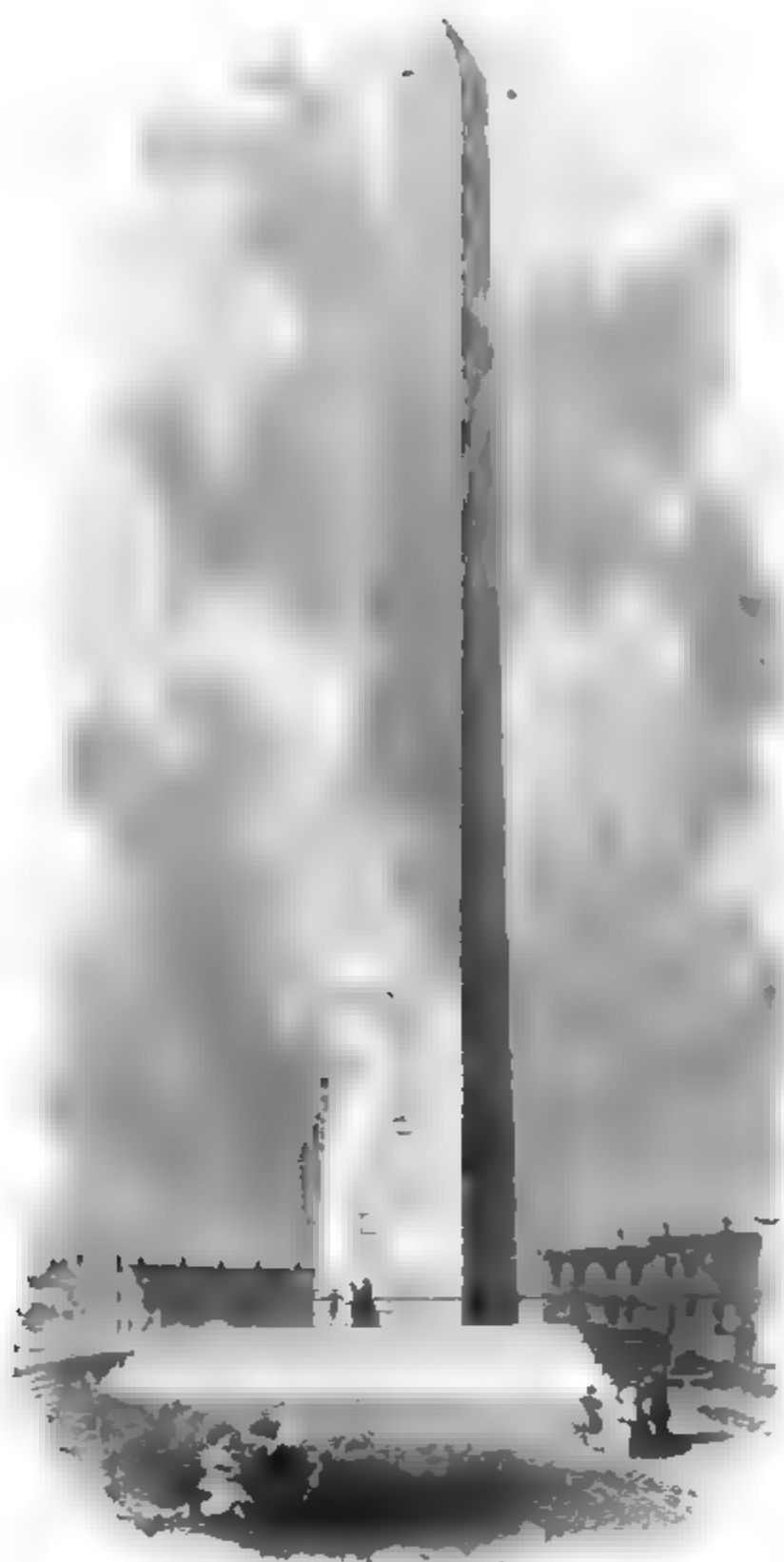
Please to do me the favor to show this letter and the plans accompanying it to General Sullivan, with whom I have had some conversation on the subject; and to the Committee. And I would thank you to acknowledge the receipt of it that I may know whether you have received the book.

With respect, your obedient servant,

WM. LADD.

At this distance of time, it may fairly be claimed that those fearful apprehensions in this regard were wholly groundless. There is no danger whatever that the obelisk now erected on Bunker Hill will ever be battered down by a hostile power, or that its massive material will be disjointed and used for works of military defence, as suggested by Mr. Ladd's letter. It will always be its own great defender. Much less reason there is to fear that, like the Napoleon Column in Place Vendôme, it will ever be thrown down in the rage of some civil commotion. It will stand ever, fast-rooted in our Earth, impregnable, alike in its matchless construction, and in the affections of the people whose proud inheritance of glory it commemorates. Nothing but some dire convulsion of nature, under God's overruling providence, can subvert it. Whenever, by an unalterable international law, all nations by general consent, following the recent example of Great Britain and the United States of America, shall substitute Arbitration for War as their "ultima ratio," it will still be as dearly cherished for its sacred associations with the glorious memories of the past, and its incentives to the highest hopes of the future; nor can it ever be deemed offensive, or even inappropriate in form, as commemorating the success of the great Cause itself, for which men gave their lives, and not simply as expressing the merited praise of their heroic death.







## CHAPTER IX.

*Incipere dimidium est.*

**L**OAMMI BALDWIN was born in 1780, in Woburn, a township set off from Charlestown. His father, Loammi Baldwin, was what was termed a "self-made man," by which is ordinarily meant one who has improved what advantages he had wherever he could find them outside of school or college, and after school-days are over. He was a particular friend of his neighbor in early life, Benjamin Thompson, afterwards the celebrated Count Rumford. They frequently walked to Cambridge to attend the courses of college lectures on Mechanics and Natural Philosophy. Both came to be distinguished, — Count Rumford on the continent of Europe and in England; and Baldwin at home, and in his native County of Middlesex. The latter received an honorary degree at Harvard College, and was Fellow of the American Academy. He was employed, as Director of the Corporation, in superintending the construction of the Middlesex Canal, which connected the waters of the Merrimack and Charles Rivers. He had three sons, who became celebrated as civil engineers, and had the charge of many important public works, both in the planning and execution.

Loammi Baldwin, the son, was a graduate of Harvard College, of the famous class of 1800, in which were Washington Allston, the artist, Colonel Samuel Swett, the first historian of the Battle of Bunker Hill, Chief-justice Lemuel Shaw, Judge Samuel Prescott Putnam Fay, and Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell. He was fond of telling a playful anecdote of his own experience in the profession of the law, which he first undertook. He had a great many callers at his office, he said; but they always came to inquire where *Fay's* office was, and he would kindly direct them to his classmate in the story above. He soon shut up his office, and devoted himself to the profession of a civil engineer, for which he thoroughly prepared himself. For this purpose he went abroad, and continued his education under the advice and patronage of Count Rumford, his father's old friend. He was deemed to be the first civil engineer of the United States in his time, and had the charge of the construction of the dry docks at the Charlestown and Norfolk Naval Stations, and of other national works; and he was also employed to make surveys and reconnoissances of great undertakings proposed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Boston, as well as by corporations and public bodies out of the State. His great *forte* was the ability to estimate rightly the strength of materials for different structures, and of foundations for arches of bridges, and to draw designs combining gracefulness with strength of construction. He made himself conversant also with the principles of architecture, especially as applied to all

structures of this kind. He was the first to recommend the making of a tunnel through the Hoosac Mountain, as lying in the way of the best route connecting Boston with Hudson River; and, had this long-delayed enterprise been carried on in his day and under his superintendence, the Commonwealth would have been richer by many millions than she now is. He was also appointed sole commissioner by the City of Boston to examine the different sources of water supply, and to report the best source, and one of a sufficient elevation, to furnish the city with pure water by gravitation. His report is a complete and exhaustive treatise on the subject of wells, aqueducts, and water supply. Boston was not ready to carry on the work in his lifetime, — his death occurred in 1838; but it was done under the direction of his brother, James F. Baldwin, and, singularly enough, the Mystic Water Works, a twin source of supply for the newly annexed territory of Charlestown and the adjoining municipalities, and now the almost invaluable possession of Boston, were constructed under the superintendence of his younger brother, George R. Baldwin. He also furnished, with great pains, the Directors of the Warren Bridge Corporation with an elaborate plan of a wide stone bridge, with two circular drive-ways over the channel, the adoption of which would have saved an incalculable sum to the united cities.

It was fortunate that the Association was able to have, in the beginning, his valuable and gratuitous services as chairman of this important Committee, to

whom was referred the general subject of the plan of a monument, to be in the form of an obelisk or some pyramidal structure. In the records he is more commonly named as Colonel Baldwin, though he was never commissioned with any military title; but from his professional eminence, and his noble personal bearing, the title was put upon him by a sort of popular authority, and it became a part of his name, — in these days he would have been called a general, by common consent; or he might have inherited the title from his father, who really was a colonel in the Revolutionary army.

Two of his associates on this Committee of the Association were not on the Board of Directors, — his classmate Allston and Dr. Jacob Bigelow, who were selected as being connoisseurs in works of this nature; while his other classmate, Colonel Swett, and also Professor Ticknor, were taken as the fittest representatives of the Board in the line of art.

The whole Committee spent much time in determining the proportions of the Monument. Colonel Baldwin took them to the Boston and Roxbury Mill-dam, whence, across the then vacant space, the surface of Bunker Hill could be seen; and he fastened against the railing of the sidewalk, in turn, miniature models he had prepared of different proportions, and then, going to a sufficient distance in the opposite direction, so that the model would appear to the eye to be transferred to the hill, as if standing thereon in full size, he would study with them its effect as seen at a distance. Thus, by comparison, they were enabled to decide



upon the proper size of base, and the proper scale of diminish which would seem to be most striking. In this way, they fixed upon the size and proportion which they reported. They departed from the model of Greenough, which showed the form of an obelisk upon an extended platform twenty feet high, with a shaft one hundred feet high, reached by a flight of steps on each of the four sides of the base, with buttresses at the corners, for the reception of appropriate ornaments; perhaps for the reason that his plan would be too expensive, but more probably because a lower platform and a loftier shaft would be more effective. They reported a platform twenty feet wide, and only two feet high, which yet remains to be constructed.

When the whole Committee had agreed upon the outward form, the report as to details and style of the interior construction was mainly intrusted to the chairman. The whole report was drawn up by Colonel Baldwin in his own neat, uniform, and compact handwriting, the original of which is still preserved. It was first read at the meeting of the Board held July 1, 1825, by Mr. Ticknor, in the absence of the chairman; and at the adjourned meeting, July 5, it was unanimously adopted. It is as follows: —

*To the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

The Committee appointed at a meeting of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, on the seventh day of June, 1825, “to report a design of an obelisk or pyramidal structure, and to consider and report on the subject generally,” beg leave to report: —

That they have carefully examined and considered the subject submitted to them by the above vote of the Board, and that they are unanimously of opinion that the most suitable monument to be erected, pursuant to the design of the Association, is an obelisk, or frustum of a quadrangular pyramid, the base of which shall be a square of thirty feet on each side, to rise two hundred and twenty feet from the platform or ground on which it is to be erected; to be surmounted with an apex having its upper angle ninety degrees, and to be fifteen feet square at the top, agreeably to the plans and section herewith presented.

That the position of the building shall be such that its four faces shall be respectively opposite the four cardinal points of the compass, and the north and south faces shall intersect, at right angles, the plane of the meridian passing through the axis of the monument.

That the foundation shall be laid twelve feet deep, or at such a depth as to give, upon careful examination of the ground, a stable and certain support to the fabric; and, upon the supposition that twelve feet is a sufficient depth for this purpose, the foundation shall commence on a square of fifty feet upon each side, and rise, by regular offsets or otherwise, to the proper height to receive the base of the obelisk, where it shall be at least thirty feet square. The stones composing the foundation to be at least two feet thick, and of the largest dimensions consistent with due economy and convenience in works of such magnitude. The stones to be all dressed or hammered in their bed and build, and to have no small irregular stones or rubble-work in the foundation.

That, in order to obtain a sufficient knowledge of the nature of the soil on which the foundation is to be placed, it is expedient to sink a well near the proposed site, either on the meridian before named, or on a line at right angles with it, opposite the centre of the east or west front. The Board will thus ascertain to what depth, and in what manner, a secure foundation will be attainable, and at the same time procure a convenient supply of water for all purposes required in the work.

That, previous to excavating for the foundation, the site should be carefully examined, to ascertain at what level, in relation to the surface of the hill about it, the platform shall be fixed ; so that in forming the *terre-plein*, or a suitable and convenient area round the monument, an economical disposition of the earth shall be obtained, without incurring the expense of costly excavation or filling. Upon this point the Committee consider it very essential to preserve as high a level for the platform as the nature of the land will admit, consistent with that easy approach to, and promenade round, a public monument of such grandeur and importance.

That the obelisk shall be erected of the dimensions and proportions and in the manner represented in the plan and section of the drawing herewith presented. That is to say, there shall be formed, in the interior of the building, a hollow newel or drum, six feet in its interior diameter, and rising from the level of the platform to the top, to consist of a circular wall one foot and a half in thickness. Round this newel shall be constructed a winding staircase of hewn stone, four feet wide at bottom, with steps having rises not exceeding eight inches, and of such breadth of tread as to make an easy and commodious ascent. The interior face of the principal walls shall be circular and concentric with the newel, and the stairs shall be firmly imbedded in, and connected with, said walls at one end, and at the other they shall be secured in the circular wall, which forms the inner drum or newel. There shall be formed, at intervals, suitable landings, or places of repose, in the staircase, with narrow openings through the said circular wall of the newel, for the introduction of air and light. Through the principal walls of the obelisk shall be made openings to admit light, to be as high upon the outside as the thickness of one of the exterior stone courses, and half an inch or an inch wide. The interior of said openings to diverge sufficiently for the admission of light ; or that said openings on the exterior shall be two or three inches wide, and filled, flush with the face of the building, with thick blocks of ground-glass, so as to preserve at

a distance the appearance of uniformity in the color of the monument.

The principal outward walls of the structure shall consist of large, well-hammered stones, with the bed and build hammered or dressed sufficiently to give solidity to the whole mass, and no backing stones to be used which are not also well dressed, and of proper magnitude to suit the size of the exterior courses, which shall be from two to three feet in height, so as to present as few joints as possible to the weather.

That, in the execution of the work, it is expedient to make such contracts for supplying the materials, making the necessary excavations, dressing and hammering the stones, &c., as shall be found economical and expeditious; but that the erection of the obelisk, and all labor of laying the foundation, should be intrusted to the care and superintendence of an experienced stone-mason, of known industry and integrity, and the work to be performed by hired workmen under his direction.

That some skilful architect should be employed, in whom the public, as well as the Board, may justly have confidence, who shall make and prepare the detailed and working plans; and who shall see that the execution of the monument shall be, throughout, faithfully and substantially performed, agreeably to the plans and directions to be adopted and delivered by the Board, or a committee by them appointed for that purpose.

That, in order to carry on this most important work in a simple, expeditious, and efficient manner, it is expedient that a building committee, to consist of three members of the Board, should be appointed, to whom shall be delegated full and ample powers to enter into all contracts; employ an architect, superintending stone-mason, and other workmen and laborers; to furnish materials; and generally to do and perform all things in behalf of the Association which shall be necessary for the completion of the monument.

That, when the obelisk shall have been completed, and not

before, there shall be formed round it a firm platform of broad, well-hammered stones, resting on foundation walls, and extending to the distance of twenty feet from each face of the building; having at the exterior boundary three steps of not more than eight inches rise each, running round the whole platform: the steps and platform to rest on firm and substantial stone walls, to be laid in such manner and to such depths as to resist all action of frost, or other ordinary cause of derangement.

That the construction of said platform, as well as every disposition or appropriation of the land belonging to the Association, round or adjoining the site of the monument, should be postponed until the completion of the obelisk, or until some urgent and unexpected exigency shall otherwise require.

That the estimate of the expense of the monument which is hereto annexed, and which the committee request may be considered part of their report, has been made upon consultation with one of the most experienced and skilful stonemasons that your Committee are acquainted with; and they present it, as nearly conformable to the foregoing description, and the most satisfactory as to its result, which can be expected for a work so entirely new and peculiar as the proposed monument.

In presenting this general description of a plan for the monument, together with a sketch of the scheme to be pursued in its erection, your Committee are aware that many details and minute descriptions of the work are wanting. They have considered that these might well be omitted in their report, as they would more properly be considered in preparing working plans for the execution of the edifice; and more especially as many slight deviations and modifications will necessarily be made in the workmanship, which require the attention and care of the architect. But they have thought enough has been given to enable the Board to decide upon its general merits. Several other propositions have been examined, which presented dimensions and proportions varying from those of the plan they herein recommend. One

scheme was to preserve the relative proportion of base and top, and to make the base a square of forty feet, and the top twenty feet. Another was to enlarge the base to forty or fifty feet, and give the top a proportionally smaller area, so as to present an outline more distinctly pyramidal. But your Committee having taken into consideration the funds already provided or probably attainable, as well as the practical compliance with the general wishes of the Board and the public, had no hesitation in adopting the plan recommended, as the one most likely to be finally and satisfactorily accomplished.

All which is respectfully submitted by

L. BALDWIN.  
GEO. TICKNOR.  
JACOB BIGELOW.  
SAML. SWETT.  
W. ALLSTON.

Boston, July 1, 1825.

*Estimate of the Expenses of building an Obelisk 220 Feet high, on a Square Base of 30 Feet and 15 Feet, of Quincy Granite.*

FOUNDATION.

<i>Excavation for foundation, say 52 feet square and 12 deep</i>	$= \frac{52 \times 52 \times 12}{216} = 150$	squares at \$2 per square	} \$300
<i>Foundation of masonry, say 50 feet square at bottom, 30 feet square at top, and 12 feet deep</i>	$= 784$	perches, which, including stones, hammering, mortar, laying, &c., at \$10 per perch	
			7,840
			<hr/> \$8,140

OBELISK.

<i>Stones for walls of the obelisk 3,538 perches, of which</i>	}	\$5,895
<i>1,179 or <math>\frac{1}{3}</math> for outside, at \$5 per perch . . .</i>		
<i>and 2,349 or <math>\frac{2}{3}</math> for interior, at \$3 per perch . .</i>		
		7,047
<i>Hammered face of obelisk 220 feet high, 3 feet base,</i>	}	
<i>and 15 at top, on each side = <math>\frac{30 \times 15}{2} \times 220 = 4950</math></i>		
<i>feet square on each exterior face, or <math>4,950 \times 4 =</math></i>		
<i>19,800 square feet in the whole, at \$0.50 . . .</i>		
		9,900
		<hr/> 22,832

Amount brought forward . . . . .	\$22,832	\$8,140
<i>Average area of masonry</i> 402 feet, 147 courses of 1½ foot each, gives for bed and build in square feet 402 × 127 × 2 = 118,188 feet. Add ½ for perpendicular joints      59,094 177,282; from this deduct ¼ for outside . . . . 29,547 Hammering . = 147,735 feet, at \$0.06 = \$8,864. ,, for outside = 29,547 ,, .25 = 7,386.	16,250	
330 steps, 8 inches rise, average tread 1 foot, hammered rise and tread, say 2 feet, and 4 long in the draw = 4 × 2 × 330 = 2,640 square feet, at \$0.50		1,320
<i>Stones for steps</i> , 1.16 × .67 × 6 = 4.66 cubic feet in each, say 5 feet at \$0.20 = \$1 per step . . . \$330 Laying do. at \$1 each . . . . . 330		660
Laying 3,538 perches at \$5 per perch, including scaffolds, rigging, &c. . . . .		17,690
Extra hammering and laying circular staircase and hollow newel, say 20,000 feet, at \$0.20 . . . .	4,000	
Roman cement, say 100 casks, at \$7 . . . . \$700 Lime and sand, at \$0.75 per perch . . . . 2,653	3,353	
		\$66,115

PLATFORM.

<i>Platform</i> , say 20 feet wide all round, and 3 steps 1 foot 2 inches tread each = 5,029 square feet of top surface. Rise of steps 8 inches, say 1 foot for top, &c. . . . = 1,176 square feet. 5,029 Hammered face = 6,205 square feet at \$1.25, including stones, hammering, and laying . . . .	\$7,756	
<i>Foundation walls</i> for platform and steps, say equal to ½ wall under whole 6 feet deep, 107 × 23.5 × 6 = 603 perches, at \$5 . . . . . =		3,015
Excavation for platform 24 feet wide all round the obelisk, and 6 feet deep, = 143 squares, at \$1 . .	143	
		10,914
Add for windows, iron clamps, railing to staircase, framework for window on top, door, &c. . . .	4,831	
		\$90,000
Add also for contingencies, superintendence, &c. . . . .		10,000
Total . . . . .		\$100,000

The number of the Building Committee was, however, enlarged from three to five; and General Sullivan

was appointed to draw up the rules for their government.

On July 12, the following gentlemen were chosen by ballot to be the Building Committee: L. Baldwin, S. Knowles, J. C. Warren, General Dearborn, and Amos Lawrence.

Colonel Baldwin was probably called from home at this time on his surveys, as would appear from the date of the following reply: —

Boston, Aug. 8, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of receiving a note from you, informing me that, on the 12th of July last, I had the honor of being elected a member of the Committee for erecting the Bunker Hill Monument; and to day I was favored with a copy of the rules and regulations to govern the Building Committee, adopted July 12, 1825, and I feel much obliged by your communication of this document. I must, however, decline serving on this Committee; and I beg you to acquaint the Board of Directors that, while I am duly impressed with the honor conferred by their vote, I can never serve them, or any other body of men, under such rules and regulations as they have adopted to govern the proceedings of the Committee. My objections are principally founded on the 3d and 6th articles. I never have been, and I can never consent to be, employed on any service where I am to be personally responsible, in a pecuniary way, for accidents and occurrences beyond my control; neither can I consent to be placed in a situation which may render others liable by my acts, or where I am myself to become liable by the acts of others. If the Board think these restrictions and conditions important, I presume they will find other members who are willing to serve under them; and I should hope that a committee of five might be selected from such a Board as that of the Directors



of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, without binding them by such severe conditions.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. BALDWIN.

This letter was at once referred to General Sullivan with instructions to confer with Colonel Baldwin. The result of the conference was a second letter, in which Colonel Baldwin, on account of his other engagements then pressing upon him, felt obliged to send in his absolute resignation: —

WINCHENDEN, Sept. 27, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 10th inst. was received a few days ago at Athol, while on my return from Connecticut River to Westminster; and I owe you an apology for not replying sooner. The fact is, that I have been so constantly occupied with the surveys that I have not had time to answer it. A storm interrupts us to-day, and I avail myself of the first opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of it.

I do not see how the conference you wish, and which I should be happy to have with you, can be obtained. My engagements are such that I shall not be able to return to Boston for several weeks, and perhaps you will not think it advisable to wait so long.

When I returned to Boston with the Canal Commissioners, I had but two or three days to spare, and was busy in preparing for the surveys I am now making. I could not of course see any of the Committee who had been appointed with me, and am therefore ignorant of their opinions or feelings as to the points upon which my objections rest. As to any modification of the rules adopted by the Board, I certainly do not wish for any. When the rules and regulations were reported to the Board, I believe no objection was made except by myself, and my objections were principally confined

to that article which provides that the Committee should be personally liable for any excess which the contracts or expenses of the monument should amount to above the money in the treasury. I proposed an amendment to the following purport, viz.: "Voted that the sum of ——— dollars be appropriated for the erection of the monument, and that the building committee hereafter to be appointed be particularly requested and instructed to regulate their contracts and expenditures so that the payments shall not exceed that amount, unless further appropriations are made, or they are otherwise directed by this Board."

This was the substance of what I proposed in the discussion, as nearly as I can remember; and several members seemed to be satisfied with this substitute for the one which appeared to me, in every point of view, objectionable: and the reported rules were handed back to the chairman of the Committee, with an understanding, as I thought, that the proposed modification should be made. I have not since attended a meeting of the Board.

On my return to town, I found a letter from the Secretary, informing me I had been appointed one of the Building Committee, and also indorsing a copy of the rules and regulations adopted by the Board to govern their proceedings. I was not a little surprised to find the original penal condition was retained, as nearly as I now recollect (for I have not the papers with me); and that, by other articles, any three of the five Committee might constitute a quorum, and that every member of it was jointly and severally liable for the doings of the whole. This mode of doing business appears to me quite new; and I never heard that a committee, appointed by any corporation or association whatever, was subjected to such penal conditions. I know of but one thing more, which would have been added; and that is, to have ordered the Committee to go before a magistrate, and enter into recognizance, jointly and severally, for their good behavior during the erection of the monument.

In my acquaintance with business, I have never known an

instance where an association of any kind, either incorporated or not, either charitable or otherwise, where a specific object was to be obtained, or where a particular sum was to be appropriated, that a committee appointed to carry into effect the views of the institution has been subjected to such severe terms of service. In labors merely honorary and charitable, as I consider that of the Committee and whole Board to be, it is rather an anomaly to throw the whole responsibility upon five, or perhaps one, of the Committee, as you would bind down a contractor or his bondsmen for common mechanical labor.

I hope you will not suppose I am wanting in respect for the Board, in making these remarks, and repeating my objections with my wish to be excused from serving on the Committee. On the contrary, I feel it an honor to be among the members of the Board, and should be proud of an opportunity to contribute all in my power to further their design. Neither are my objections founded upon any suspicion of the judgment or fairness of the other members of the Committee. They are gentlemen with whom I am happy to be acquainted; and with them, under any circumstances, it would give me great pleasure to be connected, either in amusement or business.

Under all circumstances, I beg to be excused from serving on the Committee. My occupations are and will be such for several months that it would be utterly impossible to render any service at present; though, whether on the Committee or not, I shall cheerfully contribute all the information or assistance which they or the Board may think me capable of rendering. I presume the opinions of the Board, after having heard my objections to the rules, which to me are insurmountable, remain so different from mine that no modification can be made.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. BALDWIN.

The Board, in accepting his resignation October 4, 1825, instructed the Secretary "to write him a letter expressive of the regret felt by the Directors that for the reasons assigned by him they cannot have the benefit of his services as Chairman of the Building Committee, and tendering him the thanks of the Directors for his offer of such advice and assistance as he may be able to afford." They then revised the regulations to conform to his suggestions, and elected Dr. Warren chairman, and General Sullivan as the fifth member, and also George Blake, in place of Seth Knowles, resigned. The Building Committee were also made "a Standing Committee, with authority to exercise all the powers of the Directors in the management of the affairs of the Corporation, and to call meetings of the Directors whenever they shall deem it expedient."

Meanwhile, the Directors did not entirely overlook the other object of their incorporation,—the collecting, for historical purposes, all the incidents, traditions, and memorials of the Battle of Bunker Hill, and of the whole period of the American Revolution. The articles of this sort which had been gathered by the Washington Benevolent Society were delivered over to the Association, which in turn placed them in different depositories, for the want of any permanent quarters of its own. Some of these are still in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It having been brought by General Lyman to the knowledge of the Directors that the sword which

General Warren bore in battle was in the possession of a Mr. Dunham of Maine, who procured it in Halifax, and that it could be well authenticated as such; and General Sullivan having carefully examined the evidence concerning it, and declared that it was "as conclusive as that upon which property, and sometimes life, is disposed of by courts of law,"—it was purchased by the Directors, for the sum of twenty-five dollars, and was committed to Dr. Warren for safe keeping.

While the survivors of the Revolution were convened in Boston to attend the laying of the corner-stone of the Monument, their several depositions were taken of their reminiscences of the Battle. But the accounts they gave were confused and conflicting; so much so that no reliable information could be obtained from them. At a meeting of the Directors, General Sullivan stated to the Board "that he had possession of the papers containing the accounts given by the survivors of the Battle of the 17th June, 1775, and that he proposed to hold them subject to the inspection of the Directors exclusively." His proposal was assented to, as the most expedient course to be adopted. Where they are now, nobody knows.

Important negotiations were carried on with the Selectmen and the Town of Charlestown. They were asked to sell the Training-field, a tract of about 50,000 square feet lying near the lands of the Association, and to appropriate the proceeds of the sale thereof to

the building of the Monument, receiving therefor a permanent right to use a square, to be laid out 600 feet long by 400 feet wide, as a common and military parade-ground. The town Committee, "John Soley, Samuel Payson, George Bartlett, Nathaniel Austin, William Austin, John Skinner, and Oliver Holden, Esquires," to whom the matter was referred, reported that the town had no authority to sell the Training-field, and it intended to appropriate it to public uses of its own; but it offered to pay the sum of \$6,500 for the proposed privilege, — \$5,000 by subscription, and \$1,500 by a town tax. This arrangement was ratified by both parties, but it was never carried out; the town never having made the appropriation for the payment of the \$1,500, and the subscriptions not quite reaching the stipulated sum, though amounting to nearly \$5,000.

Had the agreement been perfected, Monument Square would have been nearly 200 feet longer than it now is, and the City of Boston would have succeeded to a permanent right to its use. Five public buildings were afterwards erected on the Training-field, and remained there till 1847, when, upon the recommendation of G. Washington Warren, Mayor, they were all removed by the City of Charlestown, then established, and the place was neatly fitted up and called Winthrop Square. On June 17, 1871, a Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, in "honor of those who fought for their country," was dedicated by the City Council, Hon. Richard Frothingham delivering the address.

The town in 1825 desired the Association to cede some of its land for the widening of High and Trainingfield (now Winthrop) Streets, which was cheerfully done. It is to be regretted that the town authorities did not further provide for the public interest, by laying out a spacious avenue from the site of the Monument, which was then determined, to the Town's Square, near Charles River Bridge, which would have given a direct access to the battle-field from Boston, and have afforded an unobstructed view of the Monument, — a duty that yet remains to be done.

The inevitable controversy about taxes sprung up between the town and the Association. General Dearborn, Chairman of the Standing Committee, on receiving a tax-bill for the year 1825, on its land to the amount of \$90, remonstrated in his eloquent strain with the assessors. He wrote them: "It cannot be possible that the patriotic citizens of Charlestown will impose a tax on the tomb of the soldiers who expired on their memorable heights in the bloody contest for liberty." To this appeal, Josiah Harris, Chairman of the Board, politely replied: "It is not their intention or desire to tax the tomb of the soldiers who expired on that ever-memorable height; but they cannot think that such of the lands as were contemplated to be laid out into house-lots should be exempted from taxation." The tax was paid that year, and the two years succeeding; and afterwards the Legislature exempted the property of the Association from taxation, its funds having been exhausted.

The Treasurer promptly entered every subscription and duly acknowledged it. Assisted by Mr. Everett, he saw also to the filling out and the delivery of the copper-plate certificates to those who had paid as much as five dollars. He received a copy of the following vote, handsomely written by an expert calligraphist: —

At a meeting of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, on the 25th of June, 1825, —

*Voted*, That the Directors of the Association entertain a grateful sense of the faithful, unwearied, and most important services of Nathaniel P. Russell, during the year past, in the character of Treasurer of this Institution. And that it is due to this gentleman to make this acknowledgment public, that all the members of the Association may have the opportunity of knowing and of appreciating the highly useful labor of this department.

By order of the Directors,

JOHN C. WARREN,

*Secretary p. t.*

On September 1, 1825, the Treasurer reported that the whole amount of subscriptions actually received by him (including \$385.56 interest) was \$54,433.07. The payments for the land, laying of the corner-stone, engraving certificates, and other miscellaneous expenses, came to \$29,416.03. He had placed \$25,000 on interest at the Suffolk Bank, at 5 per cent interest, and had \$17.04 in his hands. Upon the strength of this, and in the faith that the remainder would be seasonably supplied, the Directors voted to commence the obelisk, estimated to cost \$100,000, and placed \$25,000 at the disposal of the Building Committee.





quiries previously made upon this point, the following, among other recommendations, had been received: —

BOSTON, Oct. 8, 1825.

Doc. J. C. WARREN,

DEAR SIR, — I have received your note of yesterday, requesting me to inform you whether I consider Mr. Solomon Willard competent to make the contracts, and superintend the execution of any considerable and important work in stone. In reply, I have to observe that I have known Mr. Willard as an architect for some years, and during the last eighteen months have been intimately acquainted with him.

The Directors of the Office of Discount and Deposit of the Bank of the United States, in this city, employed Mr. Willard as their architect, for erecting the new banking-house. Mr. Willard made the original model, drew all the plans of the work, and has daily been consulted as the work progressed.

The Building Committee were instructed to make all the contracts. Mr. Willard was, however, almost always consulted before any contract was concluded. I found him perfectly acquainted with all the technical phrases used by mechanics, and the mode and general custom of measuring stone-work. Had the Building Committee not had the advantage of Mr. Willard's advice, they would have been liable to great impositions in making their contracts, and carrying them into effect. I am not able to say whether Mr. Willard possesses a sufficient knowledge of book-keeping and accounts to qualify him to take the sole superintendence of an important public work; but I consider him fully competent to make the contracts and superintend the erection. In all my intercourse with Mr. Willard, I have found him strictly moral and sober, and of indefatigable industry. Mr. Willard's extreme modesty and reserve have prevented, in some degree, his real merit being known; and, justly estimated, he is a man that

must be brought out, — he will not show himself. Should you conclude to employ Mr. Willard, I feel confident he will not disappoint your expectations.

With great respect, I remain truly,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL P. PARKER.

Colonel Perkins had also been requested to give his opinion, and he wrote to Dr. Warren: "I can say, with great truth and with much pleasure, that the Building Committee of the bank have had every reason to be satisfied with Mr. Willard, the architect, both as an able artist and a most confidential agent; and I know of no one who would so well answer your purpose as this person. In the course of the execution of your duty, you will find it necessary to employ a person not only to find where the material of which you build can be best had, but also to make contracts for stone, &c. And a man of loose principles may, if employed, impose upon you grossly without your knowing it, or having it in your power to detect his knavery." Mr. Willard was also personally known to each member of the Committee, having had frequent interviews with them in explaining the designs and estimates he had previously made at their request; and he must have impressed them all with his peculiar fitness for his position, not only from his skill and professional ability, but from his enthusiastic interest in this undertaking.

He was, like the elder Baldwin, a self-educated man as to his professional training. He received the usual common-school education in his native town,

Petersham, in Worcester County, Massachusetts; where he remained with his father — who was a carpenter, and taught him in his shop the use of tools — till he was twenty-one years of age. While at home he mastered Euclid's geometry, and showed considerable expertness in mechanical inventions. He then came to Boston to seek, not his fortune (as is the object of so many), but his own intellectual improvement, and the means and opportunity of doing greater good. He had, at the time of this appointment, spent twenty-one other years in Boston, in the school of self-culture; cultivating to the greatest extent that wide field of literary and scientific advantage which it is the great glory of the metropolis of New England to afford to all who come there to search for knowledge.

Nor was he insensible to the pride of true ancestral fame. He was the fifth in descent from Major Simon Willard, who emigrated to Cambridge, Massachusetts, from the County of Kent, in England, in 1634, at the age of twenty-nine, and, after having won the highest distinction, died in Charlestown in 1671, soon after completing his seventy-first year. From him a numerous and honored progeny has sprung. Solomon was the fourth in descent from Rev. Samuel Willard, who was Pastor of the Old South Church, and afterwards acted as President of Harvard College. Many others of his lineage became celebrated in the University, and also in civil and military life; among whom was one who gave his life to his country in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Mr. Willard received from Dr. Warren the notice of his appointment with great satisfaction, and he expressed his willingness to render his services gratuitously. The Committee, however, insisted upon his receiving some compensation, — sufficient at least to pay his expenses. Under this view, it was fixed at five hundred dollars a year; which was more than Mr. Willard desired, as his personal expenses would not reach that figure. He was never married, and he had learned to practise the greatest economy; not as a miser, but to do good with his savings. He subscribed and paid one thousand dollars towards the Monument, and induced those whom he hired for the Association to subscribe what they could.

His first care was to select the material. After a long search in various quarters, he at last discovered the desired quarry of gray granite in the western part of Quincy. He found, upon careful examination, that here was an inexhaustible quantity of the very best material for building purposes that could anywhere be obtained; and his selection led to its general introduction, not only into Boston, but all over the country. Thus Solomon Willard and Frederic Tudor were mainly instrumental in discovering to Massachusetts her two chief staples of export, which have given her a remarkable reputation over the globe, — granite and ice. The privilege of quarrying as much granite as would be required for the Monument was purchased of Mr. Gridley Bryant, for \$325. Mr. Willard demonstrated to the Committee that the Association could quarry the stone at its own expense

much cheaper than it could be furnished by contractors. The result showed that there was a saving in the cost of material alone of over \$60,000. Thus the recommendation by Colonel Perkins of Mr. Willard, as being the person most competent to select the material for this new structure, and as one who would scrupulously look out for the interest of the Association rather than for his private emolument, was signally verified at the start.

The winter of 1825-6 was occupied by Mr. Willard in studying the plan adopted, to see wherein it might be improved, and in drawing the working plans and models, and also in making the necessary calculations. Heretofore it had been quite difficult to obtain large blocks of stone, and those of extraordinary size were provided at a very high cost. Hence Colonel Baldwin had planned the courses of the Monument eighteen inches wide. The finding of this quarry, and the determination to work it on account of the Association, enabled Mr. Willard to enlarge the courses to two feet eight inches; thus calling for more massive blocks, which would give a gigantic appearance to the structure. It was also a work of great difficulty to calculate the size and weight of the blocks in the different courses, as, owing to the regular diminish from the base to the apex of the Monument, no two courses were alike, and it was necessary to draw a separate plan of the blocks in each course. In all other respects the exterior form, size, and proportion of the Monument, as delineated by Colonel Baldwin, were

preserved: the same base, and diminish to the top, and the same depth and size of foundation; namely, fifty feet square and twelve feet deep. But Mr. Willard executed a finer dressing of the stones, especially of the interior courses, than Colonel Baldwin's plan called for.

The following note, without date of day or year, announced to Dr. Warren the intention to break ground on the hill; the excavation made for the formal ceremonial of the half-century anniversary not having been sufficient. The box for the corner-stone was taken out as suggested, and properly cared for until it was in a workmanlike manner replaced in the massive block which forms the north-east corner of the Monument, — there to remain while time shall endure.

DEAR SIR, — I have enclosed the rules for the Building Committee sent me, having made a copy. In the last part of the third article there seems to be a want of precision. The digging of the foundation for the obelisk will be commenced in a few days by a Boston man (the Charlestown prices being too high). It may be requisite to remove the rough stones which now overlay the corner; and, should this render the box deposited insecure, it occurred to me that it might be taken out for safe keeping until the work commences. We should like your directions respecting it when convenient.

Yours, &c.,

SOLOMON WILLARD.

In one other particular was the direction in the report of Colonel Baldwin departed from, — in the

planting of the Monument. He deemed it essential that its four sides should be set square to the points of the compass, and he specified the way by which this should be done with exactness. He thought a permanent structure of this kind should be a scientific as well as an historic landmark. Dr. Warren, however, his associates doubtless concurring, attempted to place it in the centre of the redoubt or fort as constructed by Colonel Prescott, and parallel with the sides thereof; and the best means of ascertaining this which were then accessible were employed.

In 1847, however, the City of Charlestown, upon recommendation of the Mayor, ordered a new survey and plan of the city to be made; which was done by the distinguished engineers, Samuel M. Felton and George A. Parker, who had been pupils of Colonel Baldwin. Their new lithographic plan happened to be made upon the same scale as that of Bernier and Lieutenant Page, made just after the battle, which is supposed to give the true location of the redoubt. By a comparison of these two plans, and a new survey made by the city engineers of Boston in 1875, under direction of his Honor Samuel C. Cobb, the present Mayor, the lines of the redoubt have been located anew, by which it would appear that the Monument stands on the south-east corner. Much labor has been recently employed in this research by Hon. Richard Frothingham, the present President of the Association, under whose supervision stone posts have been set in the ground, showing the boundaries of the redoubt as indicated by the new surveys.



In locating the Monument, no vote was ever taken by the Directors or the Committee; but in all probability the subject was fully discussed, and the Chairman acted in accordance with the conclusion informally arrived at.

Mr. Willard wrote to Dr. Warren, soon after the purchase of the Ledge: "Experiments have also been made with a temporary machine at dressing stone, by the inventor, with a success which I think will warrant a trial at our Ledge with a more perfect apparatus." By this it is evident that the intention to take advantage of the labor of the State prison was abandoned as soon as the use of the newly discovered quarry was decided upon. The grant of the Legislature of the sum of \$10,000 in labor in hammering stone was made, it may well be supposed, upon the estimate of the Association stated in the circular of Mr. Everett, signed by the Directors, which is printed in Chapter VI., — for a column to cost \$37,000; and, in relation to that amount, it was a liberal grant. But when the form of an obelisk was substituted for a column, and Colonel Baldwin was charged with the duty of furnishing the design, in carrying out the object stated in General Sullivan's address, to erect "the grandest Monument in the world," he drew his plan with no regard to so exceedingly low an estimate; and Willard, in maturing and perfecting that plan, had in view a structure of still greater cost. The idea of what the Monument ought to be, and should be, expanded in his mind without regard to the existing means of the Association.

In commencing operations at the Ledge, Mr. Willard made the following proposition, which was acceded to:—

DEAR SIR,—I called at your residence last evening. My object was to ascertain whether you would consider it expedient to erect a small building at Quincy, for the accommodation of those who are employed at the Bunker Hill Ledge, as has been suggested some time ago.

I have marked out a plan which I think would answer the purpose, and have obtained estimates for the building when completed. The dimensions on the plan are 32 feet by 25,—2 stories in front and one story in the rear, having a cellar, kitchen, dining-room, and chambers sufficient for 30 boarders. The situation best adapted, I think, would be on a gore of land of about half of an acre, cut from Mr. Hall's land by the railway (see sketch), which may be bought for thirty dollars. The house proposed will cost about \$700—land, \$30 = \$730. If built, it may be finished in about three weeks. The building will rent immediately for 8 per cent on the whole cost. The saving to the Association in having their men accommodated so near the work is estimated at 10 cents per day for every day's work done.

The advantage of having the building located on the piece of ground mentioned is, that this gore of land is a central point, sufficiently near to the Bunker Hill Ledge; and would accommodate all the other Ledges in the vicinity, should the quarrying at that Ledge be discontinued after we have removed our stock. It would be well situated to command a high rent when we have done with it, or to sell for its full cost. If you should think it advisable to build, I should like the necessary instructions as soon as is convenient.

Yours respectfully,

SOLOMON WILLARD.

Accompanying the letter was a sketch showing the topography of the place, and the sites for the proposed building. It is unnecessary to add that the desired

permission was granted. By having the labor of preparing and dressing the stone performed at the Ledge, Mr. Willard was able to get the greatest amount and the best kind of work done at a very low rate.

It is a matter of history that the undertaking of the Bunker Hill Monument led to the construction of the first railroad in the United States. Colonel Perkins, General Sullivan, Amos Lawrence, Solomon Willard, and Gridley Bryant were the leading petitioners for a charter incorporating them and their associates with authority to establish a railway from the quarries in Quincy to the waters of Massachusetts Bay. The charter was granted March 4, 1826, and the company was organized by the choice of Colonel Perkins as President. In the spring of 1827, the railway was so far completed by Mr. Bryant, that the company contracted with the Association to transport, during that year, 3,000 tons of stone to its own wharf, and thence by water to Devens' wharf in Charlestown. From the south-easterly corner of the lot on High Street to the foundation of the Monument granite tracks were laid, to facilitate the transportation over the steep ascent of the hill.

Mr. Willard, with a single eye to the interests of the Association, by way of caution gave this important advice to the Building Committee, upon a proposition about to be made by the new corporation: —

DEAR SIR, — It has been the wish of some of the members of the railway company for some time that we should relinquish the Bunker Hill Quarry, and take the stock at Pine Hill (a quarry recently purchased by that company).

The exchange would undoubtedly be advantageous to that company, as it would save the expense of some rods of railway, and would enable them more easily to keep others from using it who now have a right.

Something of the kind has probably been suggested to you, or will be soon; and I think it will be important to examine into the state of the Bunker Hill affairs, in order to decide whether any proposition which they shall make will be for our advantage.

For my own part, I doubt whether they will make any offer which it would be for our interest or credit to accept. If they would agree to pay what has been expended, and to deliver all the stone for the monument on the ground where it is to be erected, for the sum of seventeen cents per cubic foot measured in the work, and within one year, I think there would be no objection as relates to economy.

I will have bills collected this week to show the state of the expenditure, and shall wait for your direction.

Yours respectfully,

SOLOMON WILLARD.

Dr. WARREN.

This advice was heeded. On mutual consultation, the directors of the railway company acceded to the request of the Committee, and extended their railway to what was called the Bunker Hill Ledge, for which they received a complimentary acknowledgment in the report of the Directors made to the Association at its annual meeting in 1826. This report, carefully drawn up by Mr. Everett from the written statements and suggestions of the members of the Committee, gave a detailed account of their operations for the first year, showing that much had been done in the way of preparation, and at the Ledge, and that but about \$3,000 had been expended, the rest remaining upon interest under

the careful charge of the Treasurer. It soon began to be demonstrated that the railway was not so great a benefit as was anticipated. In Mr. Willard's opinion, it was not worth the waiting for. Besides the delay of over a year, there was all the inconvenience attending the putting in operation a new method of transportation, the transshipment to the vessel, and then the reloading at the wharf in Charlestown for the teaming to the site, a distance from the Ledge of only twelve miles. Mr. Willard was much annoyed at the hindrance, and freely expressed his views to the Committee; declaring that he could have better afforded to pay all the difference in the saving of cost of transportation rather than suffer these inconveniences. But the practical difficulties of the inception were afterwards overcome, and the railway very soon demonstrated its great value to the public.

Gridley Bryant, the constructor of this the first railroad in America, deserves special mention in this connection. He was born in Scituate, Mass., August 26, 1789. During the war of 1812, he was employed with Colonel Baldwin, under Governor Strong, upon the forts in Boston Harbor. He afterwards built the Mill-dam, now the extension of Beacon Street in Boston, and also the United States Bank building, under Mr. Willard, to which Mr. Parker's letter refers; and had become the leading and most enterprising mason and builder in Boston, when he undertook this novel enterprise. He not only built the railroad, but he himself made it of practical use by planning the neces-

sary machinery and equipments. He invented the turn-table and the eight-wheel car, the same which are now in use without any improvement or alteration for the half-century since he originated them. He also invented the railroad switch and the portable derrick. He might have taken out letters-patent for all these inventions, and have grown rich. But he gave them to the public use; and many years afterwards, when a patent right was claimed for the eight-wheel car by another, he took the pains to prove, without any remuneration, that it was his original invention, and had been freely made public. He died June 13, 1867, leaving a name, after a long and useful life, associated with the commencement of the Bunker Hill Monument and the introduction of the new improved highway into the modern world.

At the annual meeting in 1827, held on Monday, June 18, Mr. Webster signified his intention to withdraw from the presidency, and Colonel Perkins was unanimously elected in his place. In fact, he was by some suggested as the one to succeed Governor Brooks in March, 1824, being then First Vice-President; but, as Mr. Webster was to be the orator and the organ of the Society on the great day of the half-century, the place was most appropriately conceded to him. On the retirement of Mr. Webster, however, there was but one opinion, that Colonel Perkins should be the President. At the meeting of the Directors on the same day, Dr. Warren resigned the place of Chairman of the Building Committee, and Colonel Perkins was unanimously elected to fill that vacancy also.

Mr. Willard, upon reading the public announcement of the election of Colonel Perkins as President of the Association, naturally concluded that it was because he was president of the railway company, and to mark the disapprobation of his own views so freely expressed. Nothing was farther from their thought. But he at once sent in his resignation, and declared that he should remove from Quincy as soon as possible. Colonel Perkins and the Committee, as soon as they understood the matter, at once set him right, and induced him to withdraw his resignation. This he willingly did; making only an alteration in the terms of his contract, so that it should distinctly appear that only his bare expenses were to be paid to him, and that he was to give his services.

In the getting out of the stone at the quarry, he followed what was true economy in the end, by preparing and dressing the blocks of different sizes as they came out, if they were suitable for any of the upper courses, according to the plans already made, without reference to the continuous work in the erection. But the more the material was made ready for the upper part of the Monument, the less were the means at hand for immediate use in laying the courses in order. But this labor told at last.

At the end of two years, he wrote to Mr. Lawrence: —

Boston, Jan. 3, 1828.

DEAR SIR, — I was in Quincy yesterday, and directed those employed to hammer by the foot, according to your suggestion, excepting Mr. Badger and one to clear out the

shed. The blacksmiths were discharged some weeks ago, as you advised ; but a permanent one will now become necessary, and I wish for instruction to authorize me to employ one.

The bills and roll for the last year are ready for delivery, and also copies of the vouchers for Holmes's bills. By examining the items of these bills, and comparing them with the bills of other mechanics in your possession, you will be enabled to award to Mr. Holmes whatever credit is his due. I wish to be with you and General Dearborn when this takes place : the sooner you can make it convenient the better.

During the two years in which I have had the direction of the executive part in building the monument, I have endeavored to study the interest of the Association as far as was in my power.

I am not aware of having given any reasonable cause of offence to any. If any has been taken by a part of the Committee, by which another part are placed in an unpleasant situation, it is easily set right ; as I am ready to resign my post any moment when the interests of the Association require it. But, as I have made great sacrifices to get this noble work into execution, and as I am the greatest proprietor in it, I shall always feel a lively interest in its completion.

Yours respectfully,

SOLOMON WILLARD.

A. LAWRENCE, Esq.

But Mr. Willard's apprehension was groundless. Every one conceded to him his wonderful skill, ingenuity, and fidelity. The only regret was, that the means could not be furnished to him as fast as were required. The Directors were desirous that the Monument should attain as much altitude as possible, so as seasonably to impress the public mind. To that end they authorized the Committee to obtain by loan, on the hypothecation of the land, — reserving a square for the Monument 600 feet long by 400 feet wide, —



as much money as they deemed advisable. The Committee, upon this security offered, gave their own personal notes to the Suffolk Bank for different sums, amounting to over \$25,000. With this, and all the resources that could be commanded, including the proceeds of the State grant for \$7,000, in commutation of the \$10,000 in labor, Mr. Willard was only able to complete fourteen courses, raising the Monument but thirty-seven feet four inches, when in February, 1829, the order was reluctantly given to suspend the work; and the architect, and all whom he employed, were necessarily discharged. He had expended \$56,525.19, of which about \$10,000 were necessarily spent in the machine for hoisting, in buildings at the Ledge, and in other permanent fixtures. A large part of this expenditure was in the hidden work of the foundation, containing about 1,500 tons of stone, another was in the stones prepared for the upper courses; so that the work was, in reality, more than half done, although it made but little comparative show for the money.

During the intermission, he was authorized by the Directors to receive from the Treasurer all the subscription books and accounts, for the purpose of preparing for the press a list of members, and a statement of the estimates of the Monument, of the actual cost incurred, and the amount necessary to finish it. This compilation he made gratuitously, and with great pains, in order to disabuse the public mind of the erroneous impressions received. He also made a plan

of the land of the Association, and laid it out in streets and building-lots, upon and near the reserved square.

In the appeal made by the Committee to the public in 1829, they say in close, as the highest incentive and example they could offer: "Mr. Willard, the architect, has already freely given three years' service and one thousand dollars in money to the great work, and is willing to do as much more." But his noble generosity was put to a still greater test. For nearly fifteen years had transpired after the date of that appeal, before the means were furnished him to complete the work. During all this time he was frequently called upon to render statements of what the work had cost so far, and estimates of the further cost of completion, and he gave them with the same care and readiness that one would who was paid a handsome salary.

On the 17th June, 1834, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, of which Joseph T. Buckingham was President, under a Building Committee appointed by him, the work on the Monument was resumed, and continued until November, 1835. During this time, eighteen more courses were laid, making the whole height eighty-five feet. At the final effort, when proposals were issued for bids to complete the Monument by contract, Mr. Willard was urged to put in his estimate. But he spurned the idea of engaging in that patriotic undertaking as a job. The contract was made with James S. Savage, a stone-mason, who had worked upon the Monument under Mr. Willard from the beginning,

upon the express condition that it should be performed under his direction as the architect.

Mr. Willard showed remarkable judgment in the choice of his men. He would employ none who were wanting in capacity, industry, honesty, or sobriety, and those whom he did employ he associated with on equal terms, always glad to impart to them instruction, or to show them any new invention or improvement. Mr. Savage is authority for the statement that the men employed to work upon the Monument were all what are called total-abstinence men, and that not a drop of intoxicating liquors was ever drunk, during the three periods of its construction, by those engaged therein.

The Monument contains, by Mr. Willard's estimate, about the same quantity of granite as the Boston Custom House, which cost a million of dollars. The square on which it stands cost the Association nothing, as the proceeds of the land which was sold paid for the whole purchase. At the valuation of the surrounding land, the square is now worth more than a quarter of a million dollars. So that if the land were now to be purchased, and the Monument to be erected at a fair relative proportion of the cost of the site of the Boston Post Office, and of the Post-Office building when completed, the amount called for would be an incredible sum. The actual sum paid in money is no criterion of the real value and whole cost of the Monument. The saving by the architect, his own services valued as such eminent services are worth, the time

and labor employed by the different Committees, represent the difference between the mere money paid and the sum it would now require to repeat it. If the Monument had been built by the National or State Government, Mr. Willard would have been entitled to receive a salary equal to that paid to Colonel Baldwin for superintending the construction of the Dry Docks at Charlestown and Norfolk, which would have amounted to \$33,000. This sum, added to the immense saving in the cost of material,—the difference between the actual cost and the market price demanded for blocks of inferior magnitude,—would be about equal to its whole actual cost.

Mr. Willard survived the completion of the Monument eighteen years, the same period that he was occupied at intervals in its construction. He died February 27, 1861, at the age of seventy-seven years and eight months, while the black portentous clouds were gathering in the southern sky of his beloved country, and were threatening its destruction. He expressed his profound sorrow at the result he foreboded, and well he might; for, if the country were really to be severed into sections, the Monument, the great work of his hands, would be an object from which all his countrymen would wish with Webster that their eyes “might be averted from it for ever.”

At the annual meeting of the Association in 1861, on the day of the raising of the National flag from the top of the Monument by Governor Andrew, the death of Mr. Willard was announced, and a Committee was appointed to prepare a suitable notice of him.

The duty was mainly intrusted to the chairman, William W. Wheildon, Esq. His associates were Amos A. Lawrence, Uriel Crocker, Nathaniel Cotton, and Frederick H. Stimpson. They communicated to the chairman such materials and information as they could gather, and all the papers of the Association were committed to his inspection. From these and from his own most diligent investigation, Mr. Wheildon produced, and the Association published in 1865, the "Memoir of Solomon Willard," which has already become a standard book of reference, giving a complete view of his life, character, and services, and in connection a detailed account of the Monument and its construction. That valuable work contains copies of many original documents which would have been inserted entire, or specially referred to in this volume, had not Mr. Wheildon incorporated them in his most interesting Memoir.

In 1843 Mr. Willard published an elegant quarto volume, entitled "Plans and Sections of the Obelisk on Bunker's Hill, with the Details of the Experiments made in Quarrying the Granite," which he dedicated "To Architects and Engineers, and to the Working Associates." Evidently he did not mean to honor the contractors. This is a very instructive work, and an acceptable contribution to the public. Mr. Wheildon has quoted largely from the text. The plates, illustrating the work, give a complete view of the interior and exterior of the Monument, of the different courses of construction, and of the apparatus

employed for hauling and for hoisting the large blocks of stone. The hoisting apparatus, invented by Almorán Holmes, is particularly described, and a tribute is paid to the inventor, who had the personal charge of hoisting the stone during the first effort, after which the inventor died, though his apparatus is still in use. "This apparatus," says Mr. Willard, "is remarkable for its compass, and for the ease *and grace* with which it performs its work." He also demonstrates that the Monument is the cheapest structure ever erected in modern times for the money paid out, and that the Washington Monument, in Baltimore, and other public structures, built at the market prices of the time, cost many times as much more. His book not only vindicates the judgment and action of the Directors in the conduct of their great enterprise, but proves that the introduction of a building material not before in use, capable of being worked into any moulded or ornamental form required, and these experiments in the working of it, have led to a great improvement in architectural taste and mechanical execution, have created a new demand for an excellent building material for the exterior of structures, and have generally promoted the erection of buildings, both for public and private use, of a superior order, in which strength and beauty have been skilfully combined.

In contemplating the life of Willard, one might select, as the most impressive passage, his first presence in the solitary clefts of the rocks, viewing

the quarry he had discovered, — within whose vast recesses lay buried the yet unwrought walls of elegant structures soon to become the ornaments of numerous cities, — and studying how best to take fresh from Nature's storehouse the massive material for the Monument, in sections of such vast magnitude that, in the opinion of all the contractors and builders of the time, their use in the construction would be impracticable. It would be a scene not unworthy to be compared to that of Columbus in mid-ocean sailing upon an untried course, away from the known world, to find that unknown continent which his scientific faith assured him was gradually though slowly nearing before him. Willard's frugality, strength of will, inflexible honesty, and above all his self-sacrifice and all-controlling desire and motive to DO THE GREATEST GOOD, present a character to be always the more revered, because in the experience of ordinary life it is rarely approached.

As the unprejudiced historian in his impartial account of the Battle of Bunker Hill will never award to one great name the undivided glory of that memorable contest, but at least three leading characters will illustrate his page, — the beloved martyr, the intrepid defender of the redoubt, the gallant general of the field, — so whenever it shall be inquired of by the stranger, Who designed and planned this unparalleled Memorial? the answer from the written record and from tradition will be: The youthful genius of the sculptor Greenough, by his "adopted" model, and masterly

presentation of its superior claims to the column, established the form; the eminent science of Baldwin determined the precise proportion and the interior structure; the skill of Willard perfected the whole, and made it more majestic in its massive composition. Greenough and Baldwin gave to it their thought and care but for a single season, and Parris merely officiated in the grand ceremonial. Willard, the chosen architect and superintendent of the work, gave to it the strength and maturity of his manhood, so that the very soul and fibre of his existence were wrought into the mighty fabric from the foundation-stone to the airy apex. In view of such sublime devotion, it may be hoped by us that as the lover of art, when he visits Rome, and views each time with renewed admiration the dome of St. Peter's, — that greater than the Pantheon, hung in the air, — recalls at once the exalted genius of MICHAEL ANGELO, so, in future ages, will the visitor to Bunker Hill, as he gazes upon the imperishable obelisk which crowns the metropolis, be reminded of the consummate skill and the unmatched, priceless service of SOLOMON WILLARD.









NATHANIEL POPE RUSSELL. *Treasurer.*

FROM A PORTRAIT BY STUART.



## CHAPTER XI.

Like one who draws a model of a house  
Beyond his power to build it; who, half through,  
Gives o'er, and leaves his part-created cost  
A naked subject to the weeping clouds,  
And waste for churlish winter's tyranny.

**WILLIAM SULLIVAN**, whose name has so frequently appeared in this relation, was the son of the distinguished James Sullivan, who was Governor of Massachusetts in 1807 and 1808, and who died in office. He was a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1792. Among his classmates were Levi Hedge and John Snelling Popkin, who came to be the venerable professors of the College. His younger brother, Richard Sullivan, married a daughter of the great merchant, Thomas Russell, whose father James Russell owned a part of the battle-field of Bunker Hill. Both the brothers signed the original agreement of the Association, and Richard was a member of the Committee of Correspondence.

William Sullivan was one of the leading members of the Suffolk Bar, a compeer with Webster, the elder Dexter, and Jeremiah Mason. He took an interest in military affairs, and became Brigadier-General of the State Militia, which gave him a title as part of his

name. Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1826. He was a graceful orator, and a man of genial wit, and shone alike in the social circle, in the select company at dinner, and in the forum. His opinion was authority. He was selected to write the first Address of the Association to the people of Massachusetts, transacted all its legal business, and drew up the votes that were passed of importance, so that the acts of the corporation and of the Directors, or Standing Committee in its behalf, should not be questioned for want of legal accuracy. The following letter to Dr. Warren evinces his carefulness: —

Sept. 14, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — I have considered the important suggestions which your letter contained. It has raised more thoughts than I can put on paper, — or than you have time to read.

The intended publication I shall be happy to push forward as soon as I have the materials (if the drafting falls on me); and I include therein your report to the W. B. S., and the statement of the B. H. M. A. which you read, and the records, — none of which I have.

I have something to say about subscriptions and public meeting. If the latter is undertaken, I fear it will not be done with the assistance you contemplate, and I think from the labor of acquiring the facts — and preparing comments and motives, which must be encountered by any one who is desirous of having an effective meeting — without avoiding a miscarriage.

Your mind is so full and vehement on this subject, that you can pour forth at will. I must consider beforehand, and I am always compelled to aid myself with the previous conviction, as to the things to be spoken of, to whom they are to be spoken, and by whom.

If the proposed publication should sufficiently ripen the public mind, a meeting might follow.

Yours truly, W. S.

On November 4, 1826, after sending off the subscription books to the Selectmen of the different towns, he received a vote of thanks of the Standing Committee "on behalf of the Directors for the highly important services rendered by him in promoting the objects of the institution."

He was particularly set against that style of exaggeration and overdoing, into which the most intelligent are apt to fall, and which is supposed to be the peculiar characteristic of our people. William Tudor, after he went to South America, was elected a Director to fill a vacancy, "in acknowledgment of his services in promoting the objects of the Association;" and he was desirous that Simon Bolivar, President of the Republic of Colombia, then in the zenith of his fame, should be elected an Honorary Member, and that a formal letter should be sent to him. The vote was passed, and a letter was prepared in a flattering style, which was sent to each member of the Standing Committee to examine, and to consent to its being published. This is the criticism of General Sullivan thereon: —

Sept. 26, 1826.

Dr. WARREN.

DEAR SIR, — I presume you would not have sent the papers, which I received last evening, for an opinion, unless you intended that I should give one.

1. As to *printing, per se*, it would have a bad effect if Bolivar should happen to read the letter to him in a news-

paper, before it reaches him in manuscript: except this I see neither good nor evil in printing.

2. As to the proposed letter, throughout, on one subject, self-adulation, I see no objection to the declaration, however and wherever made, that we are the most virtuous, the wisest, the bravest, the greatest, and the most glorious nation that exists, or ever did, or ever will, on which subject I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Politica's book.

3. As to the *first martyrs*, as soon as Lexington sees this, it will call another town meeting, and make a second edition of its *manifesto*.

4. As to saying such sort of truths, at this day, as are expressed in the first part of the second page, concerning England and Englishmen, I see not that it can be profitable. Much less is read in England of things done in the United States than is commonly supposed to be. In the present and probable relations between the two countries, I cannot perceive the use of making that which is read *sure to displease*.

5. As to Bolivar, a highly respectable American institution is speaking to a distinguished foreigner, as one of its adopted members, — a man who holds the most responsible relations to his own, and to other countries, and among them to England. Whether he will be obliged or otherwise, by expressions like those used in relation to England and English arms, in a matter which connects him with the institution using these expressions, may deserve further consideration.

Lastly, I do not object to the expressions of adulation which are offered to Bolivar, — if he can swallow them, he must be as vain as he is brave, — nor to the opinions on South American independence, and the connection of *this* one of the "two Americas" with *that* on this subject. I am not in *the fashion* in this matter; and my opinion, consequently, is not worth expressing.

Your respectful friend,

W. SULLIVAN.

Having a large professional practice, and many duties and cares constantly calling upon his personal attention, he was subject to many vexatious importunities and complaints which try the spirit. It was after some such scene, in which the good Doctor was made perhaps the unwilling spokesman, that the following letter was written, announcing a hasty conclusion: —

Nov. 4, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am extremely sorry for so much of our hasty conversation this morning as fell to my share: you came upon me at a moment when my patience and philosophy were exhausted, and I am not accustomed to be interrogated as to what I have done or omitted, quite so suddenly. The B. H. M. A. will go on very well without me; and as to the *public*, any man is a fool who thinks the public cannot do without him, and much more of a fool if he spends his life in thankless service for the public. I have spent as much of mine, in this way, as I mean to.

I should be obliged if one of your Committee could be delegated to audit my liabilities for the Association; and by having an order passed that the Treasurer shall pay what may be found to be due.

I shall attend to the distribution of the addresses, and this will close my agency. Mr. Gould is desirous of having a book prepared for the boys of his school, who intend to be made members.

Respectfully,

WM. SULLIVAN.

Dr. WARREN.

Most persons who engage in great undertakings for the public advantage, in which the public sentiment goes but half-way with them, or not so far, have at times similar periods of discouragement, when they

are inclined to give up their plans, and to sink to the level of those who care for nothing which does not materially concern their own narrow circle. It is to the credit of human nature that "patience and philosophy" will come to the aid of generous and noble spirits, and prompt them to persevere in the good cause they have espoused. So it was with General Sullivan, who retracted his sudden purpose, and continued his labors with such energy and will that no one would suppose he had ever thought of faltering. He favored the adoption of the grandest plan of the Monument that could be suggested, though not expecting to see it finished. He died September 3, 1839, when the Monument was only eighty-five feet high.

The Standing Committee made every effort to increase the subscriptions. They requested the Ward Committees of Boston and the Selectmen of the towns to make a new effort, and to glean a second harvest. But the Ward Committees replied somewhat reproachfully, as if they were thought to have been unfaithful, that they had been over the ground thoroughly, had asked every man who would be likely to contribute, and that it would be almost an insult to ask again.

As an illustration of the prompt manner in which the canvassing was done, the letter of Lemuel Shaw, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, will suffice to show:—

NATH. P. RUSSELL, Esq., *Treasurer Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

DEAR SIR,— I herewith return you the Subscription Book for Ward No. 11. You will perceive that the whole amount



of subscriptions is \$906. A list of unpaid subscriptions, which at your request I have handed to Mr. Kuhn, is \$116. The amount collected and received by the Committee, \$790, is herewith handed to you, including a small bill of \$3, being the expense of printing notices.

I am, sir, very respectfully, in behalf of the Committee for Ward 11, your obedient servant, LEMUEL SHAW.

Boston, March 14, 1825.

Thomas Power, who had served on the Ward Committee with great alacrity, made this reply in relation to a second attempt: —

Boston, Aug. 13, 1825.

SIR, — A communication, under your hand, in behalf of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, directed to Ezra Dyer, Esq., and the subscriber, was duly received. When the Committee of Ward 5 accepted their commission, they divided the Ward into four Districts; and I can truly say that the District in which I labored was thoroughly *searched* for subscribers. We then had a Ward List, but it was of no use to us. We went to every house; and I regret to say there were many instances of refusal to subscribe, and, among them, some whose means promised better things. There are on the Ward List names of persons who have removed *years since* from the Ward. Because therefore the names on the Ward List are not found on the subscription book, it does not warrant the inference that they were in the Ward, or, if in the Ward, that they were not called upon to subscribe.

I have consulted Mr. Dyer on this subject, and he is of opinion with me that it is expedient to decline acting further in this business as contemplated by the Directors.

We feel sensible of the honor intended and the confidence reposed in us. Could we entertain a belief that we could aid the efforts of the Association usefully, we should forthwith proceed.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

THOMAS POWER.

EDWARD EVERETT.

Boston, as she then was, had contributed more than half of the whole amount : as now enlarged, the donations of her present territory were about three-fourths. The response from the towns to a second call — Boston was then the only city in the State — was not more satisfactory. Those who in the first instance declined to subscribe did not, on a renewed appeal, change their opinion. The following letter from Worcester illustrates the state of feeling that existed in what was then called the heart of the Commonwealth : —

WORCESTER, May 23, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — I transmit by Colonel John W. Lincoln one hundred and seventy dollars and seventy-five cents, the amount subscribed in this town, in aid of the Bunker Hill Monument Association. It is a source of regret with me that the citizens of this town have not been more liberal and patriotic on this occasion. The reason in part is to be attributed to the influence of our clergy (with the exception of Dr. Bancroft), whose opposition was proclaimed from the sacred desk ; which undoubtedly operated to cool the ardor and prejudice the minds of their respective hearers ; and my immediate predecessor, who had the charge of the subscription book, was not sufficiently alive to the subject in season to accomplish the object in view. Having previously had a letter or circular from Mr. Everett, requesting my aid and influence in procuring subscriptions, I volunteered my services to the Chairman of the Board of Selectmen last autumn, to carry round the subscription book to the inhabitants of the centre district, as I was then about taking a census of the minors in said district for school purposes, and could have attended to both objects with but little additional trouble, but my offer was not accepted in season. I have since had to travel the ground over to collect the money which he had got subscribed,

and the subject had become so antiquated when the book came into my hands that I had but poor success in obtaining new subscriptions. These circumstances must be my apology for the leanness of the subscription, as well as for not returning the book more seasonably.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

OTIS CORBETT.

N. P. RUSSELL, Esq.

If in May, 1825, "the subject had become antiquated," the prospect for the Association was not promising. But we can scarcely appreciate the situation of Massachusetts and New England in the latter part of the first half-century of the Independence, and just after the close of the second war. Although there was everywhere great contentment, and the appearance of thrift, it was owing to the industry and extreme frugality of the people. A silver dollar then was more highly valued in the country towns than ten dollars in currency are now, and it actually went further. A majority of the families raised their own produce, spun and wove their own garments, and carpets, if they had any, and realized, from the sale of the surplus products of the farm or of their labor, only from fifty to one or two hundred dollars a year in cash. Daughters were as useful then as sons in the household economy, and became the better wives from their bringing up. The householder would be years in building and finishing his house; first putting up the frame, when his neighbors would render their gratuitous assistance at "the raising," then making a small portion habitable to "get in," and, year by year, ob-

taining the material, and working at intervals of leisure upon the inside and out, until the whole was completed, and became an ornament to the village. There were but few banks in the country to stimulate business. Manufactories were just springing up. Commerce was the great source of rapid wealth in Boston; and boys in the country, not wanted at home, and not finding situations in the city, would either go to sea, or seek their home and fortune in the new States of the West. The average salary of the ministers in the State out of Boston would hardly reach four hundred dollars, a scanty sum with which to rear a family, and yet the parishes thought it was a great deal of money. It is no wonder that there should be some clergymen, who, overlooking the importance of cultivating the patriotic sentiment of a love of country, and its liberties as the guaranty of religious freedom and growth, but contemplating only the necessities of Christian beneficence with which they had to deal, should even preach against giving to the Monument, in the fear that their special objects of charity might suffer.

Considering this state of things, it is not only creditable to that period, but indeed a marvel, that so large a sum as nearly \$60,000 — equal to half a million at least of our money — should be so spontaneously given. No such sum had ever before been raised in New England for any single object of the kind, and this was owing to the intense patriotic excitement produced by the eloquent and felicitous appeals of the Association. It was all the money that

Mr. Everett's circular asked: \$37,000 was his estimate for a column 220 feet high, and all the land was actually purchased for a little over \$23,000. Besides, the Legislature had granted \$10,000 in labor, which was then supposed could be conveniently employed in its construction. Therefore it was that Mr. Everett, who had accurately gauged the probable result of their appeal, apprehending that nothing more would be likely to be very soon afterwards obtained, declared that the only safe thing to do was to erect a column according to his estimate, and to preserve all the land. He actually selected a neat and classical design, which he proposed for their adoption.

In view of the emergency from the deliberate change of plan, the lottery was resorted to as the only expedient. It had been the custom to grant the right to establish lotteries for a specified term in aid of turnpikes, bridges, academies, and other public institutions. Harvard College had, only a few years before, received a grant of that sort for one of its Halls. General Dearborn, as one of a State Commission, had reported in favor of granting a lottery in aid of internal improvement. The Corporation of the City of Washington petitioned the Legislature, in 1822, for leave to sell in the State tickets of lotteries granted by Congress in aid of certain public improvements in the national capital. George Blake strongly recommended the course, being advised by Phineas Blair, and also by J. K. Casey of Baltimore, who advertised a scheme in the following fashion: —

*Casey's Self-operating Lottery.*

This lottery is patented by the United States, and has received the full and unqualified approbation of the most enlightened philanthropists of the nation. The great object of it is to exclude from all participation in adventure the poorer classes of society, and to put down the inducements to *private* gambling, where the loss of fortune may truly be said to be the least evil incident to this growing vice of our country.

Mr. Casey was very desirous of conducting the enterprise, the success of which he deemed certain, as tickets could readily be sold in the principal cities of the United States. A vote of the Directors was obtained to petition the Legislature, and the Senators and Representatives elect were sounded in advance. But the public sentiment in Massachusetts had been strongly setting against lotteries as a vicious system of raising money. If it was right and expedient to prohibit them by law, the State ought not to license them by special enactment for any purpose, however laudable. The Directors became sensible of this feeling in season, and voted to petition for the direct aid of the State, instead of a lottery. This petition failed to attract any support.

In February, 1829, another appeal to the people of the State was determined upon. Instead of addressing official characters, the Directors themselves designated prominent gentlemen in the different towns and in the wards of the city, who were requested to circulate the address prepared by General Dearborn, and to solicit subscriptions, — one half to be paid in the following month, and one half in a year.

The following is an extract from his address: —

All civilized nations of ancient and modern times have erected statues, mausoleums, or other monuments, to commemorate the deeds of their illustrious sons, or perpetuate the recollection of memorable national events. This practice has its source not only in proper feelings of gratitude for patriotic services, but also in the universal desire of all great men to live after death in the memory of posterity. This desire stimulates them to illustrious actions, that they may merit the renown which has uniformly been decreed as the reward of such actions. . . .

It is not exaggeration to say that the whole character of the subsequent war was changed by the Battle of Bunker Hill, that that battle gave the character to the war, and that on that Hill our Revolution was really achieved. How interesting, then, not only to New England men, but to every American, must this spot ever remain! Our government is the only free government founded on the rights of the people and the sovereignty of the law which can be considered as firmly established on earth. If any spot in this country should be consecrated as holy ground on which to erect the temple of liberty, that spot surely is BUNKER HILL.

Animated with these feelings and actuated by these principles, the Bunker Hill Monument Association have engaged in the work of erecting a monument worthy of the spot, worthy of those illustrious sons, and those memorable deeds of the Revolution, which it is designed to commemorate, and also worthy of ever standing the memorial of the establishment of those great principles of liberty which resulted from the Revolution. The monument will be the *highest of the kind in the world*, and only below the height of the Egyptian Pyramids. It will form, when completed, an obelisk thirty feet square at the base, and fifteen at the top. It will consist of eighty courses of our Quincy granite, each course two feet eight inches in thickness. The whole height, when laid, will be two hundred and twenty feet. No traveller will *then* inquire for the battle-ground. The monument will endure

until the foundations of the earth itself are shaken. Our descendants in the most remote ages will have this perpetual memorial before them of the virtues and valor of their ancestors, and this ever-enduring memento of the price and the value of liberty.

The whole quantity of stone necessary to complete this work is six thousand seven hundred tons. Of this quantity twenty-eight hundred tons are already laid in the first fourteen courses, and five hundred tons more are already dressed on the Hill, being the quantity required for five courses, and, with that already laid, making more than half the quantity necessary for the whole structure. Twelve hundred tons are already split out in blocks to dimensions for the various parts of the monument at Quincy, and have been placed in situations where they can be best hammered. The remainder, twenty-two hundred tons, can be split from the quarry in ninety days, for three thousand dollars: considerable progress has been made in preparing the ledge for that purpose. The Committee continued the work as long as they considered themselves justified, and only ceased at the Hill on the first of September, and on the seventeenth of January at the quarry.

To accomplish this great work, it must be evident, has required a sum of money far beyond the subscription, and to complete it a still larger sum is required. The machinery at the quarry, at the wharf, and on the Hill, has cost ten thousand dollars,—but half the sum, as the Committee have learnt, paid for the staging used in erecting the Washington Monument at Baltimore. To extinguish all the titles to the battle-ground has cost twenty-four thousand dollars. In proceeding as far as they have done, the Society have expended all their funds, and twenty thousand dollars in addition. Thirty thousand dollars more are required to complete the work. With fifty thousand dollars, the work can be completed within the year, and the whole battle-field reserved. This most interesting spot is now wholly in the control of the Society, and from the Monument the whole field of battle is now open to



the eye ; but, unless fifty thousand dollars can be raised, a considerable part of it must be sold, and the opportunity lost for ever of reserving it from being covered with buildings which would disfigure it. Under these circumstances, the Society appeal with confidence to all Americans, and especially to every son of New England, to enable them at once to finish the great work.

Joseph E. Sprague of Salem was Chairman of the Committee, and attended to the printing and distributing of the addresses: there was no response.

At the annual meeting this June, Colonel Perkins declined re-election as President, after two years' arduous service, and Judges Story and Prescott as Vice-Presidents. Mr. Everett, who found it impracticable for him any longer to perform the various duties of Secretary, which had occupied so much of his time, was transferred to the easier place of Director. Levi Lincoln, who was then Governor of the State, was elected President, Dr. Warren and Amos Lawrence Vice-Presidents, and General Dearborn Secretary. Other changes were made in the Board. It does not appear by the record that Governor Lincoln either accepted or declined the Presidency; but it is presumed that he gave his consent to the use of his name, with the understanding that he should take no active part.

The Directors elected on the Building Committee: Ebenezer Breed and David Devens of Charlestown, Amos Lawrence and Charles Wells of Boston, and H. A. S. Dearborn of Roxbury. Charlestown and Roxbury are now parts of the metropolis of Boston.

This was the year in which the ladies made their first effort. A Committee was formed among them, who undertook to raise the desired means by a general subscription in small sums by the women of the State and the little children. Sums as small as twenty-five cents were solicited. William Appleton encouraged the movement by sending them \$500 to pay any incidental expenses; and Amos Lawrence sent anonymously \$100.

The Directors gratefully acknowledged their co-operation, and by vote pledged all the money that might be received from this effort to the raising of the Monument, and to no other purpose. The immediate return in money was small, but an effort was started which in the end led to success. The amount of the ladies' donation, \$2,225.38, was deposited as a separate fund with the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, an institution under whose prudent management money accumulates slowly at first, but always surely, and after a while at a rapid rate.

At the meeting in 1830, Governor Lincoln declining, Judge William Prescott was chosen President; and his son, Edward G. Prescott, Secretary; and General Sullivan second Vice-President, in place of Amos Lawrence declined. The Association instructed the Directors to petition the Legislature for a grant from the funds about to be received under an appropriation made by Congress for the payment of the claim for the services of the State Militia, paid for by the State during the late war; and to take such other measures as might be deemed most expedient; "pro-

vided, that the land be not sold unless it shall be found absolutely necessary." The Directors appointed, August 4, a strong Committee — Dr. Warren, Mr. Everett, General Sullivan, Amos Lawrence, and Colonel Baldwin — to consider and report the measures proper to be adopted to carry out their instructions. On the 13th of the same month, they reported a series of Resolutions and an address, written by Mr. Everett, to be sent out to the public. Colonel Baldwin took a prominent part at this adjourned meeting. The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted: —

1. *Resolved*, That a respectful address be presented to the legislature of this Commonwealth, at their next session, setting forth the expediency of giving the aid of the Government to a work in which the public is so deeply interested.

2. *Resolved*, That an effort be made to obtain further contributions from individuals, when it has been ascertained that the Government of this Commonwealth can extend such assistance to the Association as will encourage the hope of a speedy completion of the work.

3. *Resolved*, That, inasmuch as it is certain that a fair price cannot be obtained for the Bunker Hill field, it would be inexpedient to attempt a sale of any part of it at this time.

4. *Resolved*, That we consider the field of Bunker Hill as a sacred legacy of our forefathers, defended by their arms and watered by their blood, and that it ought to be kept open to the view of remote posterity; and that it would be a permanent disgrace to the present generation of Americans to employ the same for house-lots or other ordinary uses.

5. *Resolved*, That means should be adopted to represent to the Government of this Commonwealth the importance of securing this land in the hands of the public.

6. *Resolved*, That a committee of eight, with power to fill vacancies, be chosen to prepare a respectful address to the legislature, for the purpose recommended by the Association;

and to support the application made in the address in a proper manner.

7. *Resolved*, That an address be submitted to the citizens of this Commonwealth, on the part of the Directors, explanatory of the views of this Association ; of its operations and actual condition ; and that the same be forthwith distributed to every town in the Commonwealth : and the Committee accordingly beg leave to present herewith the draft of such an address.

The draft of Mr. Everett's address was also unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed and distributed. After giving an account of the efforts of the Association and of the progress of the work, it demonstrated the great propriety of appropriating a portion of the "Massachusetts claim," when received, to this permanent memorial of the Revolutionary struggle, and then it proceeded as follows to show the propriety of the State joining with the public in completing a work of this extraordinary character, which had been so well begun: —

In the present condition of the affairs of the Association, the Directors think they may with propriety say that something is imperiously required to be done. Private subscriptions have been nearly suspended, partly no doubt from the late pressure of the times ; but also from a sentiment of general prevalence that the work itself is of a public nature, in which the Commonwealth and individuals ought to go hand in hand. The funds of the Association are exhausted ; and the sale of the land would not, it is believed, more than enable the Directors to pay the debt for which it is pledged. Meantime the spot remains the object of universal attraction. Every motive which ever existed for undertaking the work still operates in all its force. Every citizen of the United States, and every stranger from Europe, that visits this

neighborhood, repairs to these heights, as the first object of interest. If the Monument is to remain permanently in its present condition, it will be a source only of discredit. The sum necessary to complete it, and render it the loftiest work of the kind in the world, and in beauty unsurpassed by any other, if assessed as a tax on the good people of the Commonwealth, would amount to less than nine cents each. The Directors cannot doubt that the people, if called upon, would cheerfully tax themselves to this amount for this object. But when it is considered that no tax will be required, and that the sum needed can be set apart from the ample funds about to flow into the treasury of the State, they are encouraged to hope that their petition will meet with general favor.

In possessing within its limits the heights of Charlestown, the State of Massachusetts may boast of a spot whose interest is unequalled in the History of Liberty. It is conceded that the American Revolution is the great era in the annals of man. It was the revolution of mankind, in which the moral necessity of free institutions for civilized societies of men was vindicated and established. What impartial man can doubt that the fate of this great revolution was decided between the 19th day of April and the 17th of June, 1775? Who can doubt that if on those days our fathers had quailed before the hostile armies, and Hancock and Adams had been seized and sent to England for trial, and with Warren, Prescott, and Putnam, and their compatriots, had expiated their treason on Tower Hill, the American Revolution would have been effectually checked; and for what period, who can tell?

It has seemed proper, therefore, that the field where this great battle of freedom and independence was fought should be separated from every secular use,—a field of blood, sacred and precious,—restored to the condition in which it was trod by our fathers on the morning of the eventful day, and adorned by a majestic monumental structure, which shall mark it to the end of time. We are told by travellers that, in the expanse of the Egyptian desert, a single obelisk, less lofty and massive by far than that which is commenced on

Bunker Hill, remains to mark the spot of the great city of the Sun, the residence of the patriarch Joseph, three thousand five hundred years ago. In completing the Monument on the heights at Charlestown, we shall point out to the gratitude and admiration of our posterity, after an equal lapse of ages, the scene of the first tremendous struggles for American Independence.

The Committee of eight appointed to prepare and prosecute the petition to the Legislature were General Sullivan, John Harris, General Dearborn, Thomas J. Goodwin, Charles Wells, Alexander H. Everett, Ebenezer Breed, and Oliver Holden. The election of the Building Committee was, on motion of Colonel Baldwin, postponed.

The Association always prefaced its petitions to the Legislature by an eloquent appeal to the public, and endeavored to produce in the minds of the people a strong conviction that the aid sought of their Representatives ought to be granted. All along in the history of this enterprise the Association sought to reach the popular heart, to rouse the patriotism of the people, and thus create a strong and enthusiastic public sentiment.

The annual meeting on Friday, June 17, 1831, was attended by a small surprise party, which came near taking possession of the Government of the Association. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and about half a dozen of the old friends of the enterprise, were there. The faces of the rest were not familiar. The records and Treasurer's report were read. General Dearborn reported that

the petition for a grant from the State was referred to the next Legislature, and that measures were being pushed by the Committee for raising money by general subscription, but their operation had been delayed by the sickness of Amos Lawrence, one of their Committee. General Sullivan reported that copies of a pamphlet showing the condition of the Association had been sent to all the State, City, and Town officers, and to prominent individuals. On motion of Mr. Clough, the ballot for officers was taken. New persons were chosen in place of the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary, and eleven new Directors were elected, by an average vote of thirty to ten for the old officers displaced. The arduous office of Treasurer no one coveted, and Mr. Russell was kept in his place as if to mark the continued identity of the Association. Leverett Saltonstall and Benjamin V. French were the only Directors re-elected, and there were twelve vacancies.

The announcement was received with surprise mixed with indignation, nor was the feeling abated when it appeared that the attempted change of the government was made in the interest of the new political party, known as the Anti-Masonic. It would not have met with the least success, if even an half hour's notice of the attempt had been given to the public; but the leaders of the new organization, claiming to be founded upon the sole idea of political opposition to *secret* societies, made this unexpected demonstration by secret combination, and the concealment of their votes before voting.

At the adjourned meeting on July 25, Dr. Abner Phelps, the new President, was in the chair, and William Marston, the new Secretary, appeared. So many of the Association were present that the room could not accommodate them, and another adjournment was voted to the following Monday, August 1, to Faneuil Hall, if it could be had; and, if not, the Secretary was instructed to obtain the most convenient place possible, and to give three days' notice thereof in four of the Boston newspapers. Nathaniel P. Russell, the Treasurer, Benjamin Russell, and William Sullivan were appointed a Committee to prepare an alphabetical list of voters, to appoint a sufficient number to check the names of those that voted, to ascertain if votes by proxy can be legally received, and to report any other arrangements they might think proper.

In the afternoon of August 1, FANEUIL HALL opened its doors to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, assembled in large numbers; and there was every appearance of an enthusiastic meeting in favor of the former government. The names of those appointed to check the voting lists were announced, one for each of the twelve wards of Boston, and one for each of the towns of Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury, — these three to act for all other towns. The Committee had consulted with Hon. Charles Jackson, and they were of the opinion "that it will not be expedient to receive proxy votes until the Association shall authorize the same by a by-law, which



they have authority to pass at any meeting." They also reported six new by-laws:—

1. That the officers should be elected at the annual meeting, or at an adjournment.

2. That no person shall vote unless he has contributed five dollars to the funds.

3. That the Directors shall consist of thirty persons, of whom those elected at the former meeting shall be a part.

4. That no part of the land belonging to the Association shall be sold, nor any stones laid on the Monument, nor any contracts be made for any operation thereon, unless the Association be first convened by advertisement,—giving at least twenty days' notice thereof in two or more newspapers printed in Boston,—and a vote be passed authorizing the measure proposed.

5. That no act of the Directors shall be valid unless a majority of the whole Board concur therein.

6. That all by-laws inconsistent with those above mentioned be, and the same are, hereby annulled.

These were all adopted unanimously without amendment. A Committee of eight were appointed to receive, sort, and count the votes for eighteen Directors, and it was voted to close the polls at six o'clock. Although there was no ticket displayed in opposition to that prepared by the friends of the old government, who were the founders and laborious friends of the Association, five hundred and eighty-two members remained to have their names checked on the list, and to deposit their ballots. A large number of other persons, satisfied there was not the least opposition to the reinstating of the old government in force, withdrew before voting. The very appearance of the meeting shewed beforehand what the result would be.

Judge Prescott, Dr. Warren, and General Sullivan, the former President and Vice-Presidents, and fifteen others of the old Board, including Amos Lawrence, Edward Everett, and Francis J. Oliver, were unanimously elected. Eight of the old Directors were not chosen, there being no room on the Board for any more, without making a greater addition to its number.

Four attempts were made without success to procure a meeting of the Directors, at which business could be transacted under the new by-law. General Sullivan then prepared a form of notice, which was adopted and sent to each Director, stating that his presence was particularly requested at the time named for the next meeting. On September 12, under this notice, a legal meeting was obtained, at which a Committee was appointed to consider and report what should be done. Two meetings were called to hear their report, but, for want of a quorum being present, the report was not made. Thus another year passed, and nothing was done.

The next annual meeting was held on Monday, June 18, 1832, in Faneuil Hall. The officers newly elected by the Anti-Masonic party had publicly withdrawn their names as candidates for re-election; but, notwithstanding, four hundred and fifty-five members appeared to cast their votes. Judge Prescott was re-elected President; Dr. Warren and General Sullivan, Vice-Presidents; and Edward G. Prescott, Secretary. A Board of Directors was chosen in harmony with

them, and the restrictive by-laws passed the year before were rescinded. Thus ended, in complete discomfiture, the first and only attempt ever made to identify the Association with a political party.

The ground of this movement of the leaders of the Anti-Masonic party was their repugnance to the fact that the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the Monument was performed by the Grand Master of Free Masons, and that this fact, and the words "Alexander Paris, Architect," are inscribed on the plate deposited in the foundation of the Monument. They desired to get possession of the Monument to remove this plate, or, if that should be impracticable, to insert another which should correct or supersede it. In their published "Report," they say: —

They desire a suitable correction of the inscription, so that the *truth* may be handed down to future ages. This correction may be made at a trifling expense, and with no injury to the Monument, simply by inserting a new plate with a true inscription on the highest course of stone now laid.

But, aside from all considerations connected with the Masonic character of the inscription, the undersigned put it to their fellow-citizens, and especially the members of the Association, whether the plate deposited in the foundation ought to bear the name of a person as architect, who had no concern with the design or erection?

It is, however, none the less the fact that Mr. Paris did personate the Architect on that great historic occasion, being duly authorized, and did perform the part assigned to the architect, which is deemed essential in the Masonic ceremony of laying a corner-

stone. It is recorded that, on receiving the implements with the usual injunction from the Grand Master, he made the following modest and exceedingly felicitous reply: —

MOST WORSHIPFUL GRAND MASTER, — I receive from your hands these implements of science and labor belonging to my craft and profession with feelings of great personal diffidence, but still in the strongest confidence and faith that such is the triumphant spirit of the age, and such the numbers, ability, and power of those who have ordered the craftsmen to commence building, that the work will go bravely on, and the fathers who have this day come up, resting each upon his staff, to see you lay the corner-stone, will live long enough to witness the dedication at the completion of the structure.

Mr. Paris had on request furnished designs to the Committee, and also estimates of the comparative cost of a column and an obelisk, and these corresponded very closely with those made by Mr. Willard. He was well known as a skilful architect, and had been employed with Colonel Baldwin upon the public works of the United States, and he had then a fair prospect of being the permanent architect of the Monument. He superintended the laying of the foundation and the preparing of the corner-stone, both of which were executed in a workmanlike manner by Gridley Bryant, and were deemed sufficient for the structure then contemplated. The fact that subsequently a deeper foundation was laid for a weightier structure, and a more massive stone substituted, is as immaterial as the fact that the members of the Building Committee and most of the officers of the Association were

changed during the progress of the work. The great object of the public ceremony is to commemorate the beginning of a great enterprise, and the inscription on the plate deposited in the foundation should properly bear the names of those persons who took part or were officers on that day. Another ceremony upon a change of plan, and another great public occasion with an oration upon the substitution of a larger stone, would have been most absurd. It would have been alike injudicious to deposit, as proposed, a plate with another inscription in the Monument forty feet from the ground.

It was charged also that the Masonic ceremony was attended with great disproportionate expense, whereas it did not cost the Association a dollar. The whole expense of that imposing celebration was \$4,720.85, which included the excavation and foundation, then deemed adequate for the proposed structure, and all the arrangements for the seating of the audience, the escort, music, and the entertainment of invited guests. Their Report says: —

The public entertained no doubt that the nation's guest, General Lafayette, was to lay the corner-stone of the structure. For the performance of such a ceremony by so august a personage, no reasonable expenditure of the funds of the Association would have probably been deemed extravagant or useless.

A great attempt was made to cast odium upon the Masonic fraternity, as though they had contrived through Mr. Oliver, a Director and Past Grand Mas-

ter, to wrest from General Lafayette this honor. But it has been shown that the question was not whether Lafayette or the Grand Master should perform the ceremony, for it had been before determined that it would have been otherwise performed by Mr. Webster, as President of the Association. When Mr. Oliver and Judge Prescott conferred with him upon the propriety of inviting the Grand Master to officiate, they undoubtedly satisfied him, from the fact that General Joseph Warren died on the field while holding that office, and that the Lodge of Masons in Charlestown had so early erected a conspicuous monument to his memory, that this form of ceremony — often solicited from its traditional authority and natural fitness in the erection of public structures, when there was no special reason — was peculiarly appropriate to this occasion, would be also perfectly satisfactory to General Lafayette, known to be a devoted member of the order, and, more than all, would greatly add to the *éclat* of the celebration.

The other complaint made by the new men in the Board was the purchase of fifteen acres of land instead of only the five acres which the Association was authorized to take by the right of eminent domain. It was on account of these alleged objections coming to the public ear that the new by-laws were passed, tying the hands of the objectors, so that not a stone should be laid, nor the land sold, nor any thing else done upon it without the vote of the Association at a meeting to be specially convened.

It is proper to state that Dr. Abner Phelps was elected President in his absence without any instrumentality of his own, and that he accepted the position — so disagreeable under the circumstances — in deference to the judgment of his political associates. He was a graduate of Williams College of the class of 1806. He was an affable gentleman, and was well established in this city as a physician of good repute. He took at this time a leading part in the promotion of the Western Railroad, and in this direction he was more successful, and made himself more useful to the community.

One result of this unfortunate controversy was another able and eloquent Address from the ever-ready pen of Mr. Everett. It was a plea against selling any of the land. It stated that those who had advanced money upon it were in no haste to enforce their claim; that in a few years, in one generation at the farthest, Boston and Charlestown might be constituted one municipality, the bridges between them would be free avenues, and as in former times Charlestown was the abode of the Russells and Dexters, and men of that class, to whom expense was no object in the selection of a residence, so it would again be resorted to by such men; and in the mean while let this field be planted with trees, and it would become as attractive a spot for a promenade as any in the world, and *then* the idea of selling any portion of it would no more be tolerated than would now be the proposal to sell a part of Boston Common, to which this land

on Bunker Hill was in many respects superior. The address then forcibly stated the historic reasons why the whole land acquired by the Association should be preserved for posterity, and concluded with the following strong statement of the author's faith in the finishing of the Monument: —

Many of the original subscribers, it is known, were and are ready to double their subscriptions; and we have no reason to doubt that the Commonwealth will yet, from its ample funds, contribute effectively to the object, or, at least, that it will purchase and for ever secure the field of battle.

The Monument *will be completed*. What has already been done is as substantial as the Pyramids of Egypt. It will stand uninjured to the end of time. If this generation cannot or will not finish it, the next will. It would be pleasant to those who witnessed the commencement to behold the completion of the work. But, if we prefer waiting, the work can wait. It is a work which will last, unless an earthquake shall shake it down, while the earth lasts. Let us proceed in it with an elevation of feeling worthy of its character and destiny, and take no step under temporary excitements. Our brave fathers who encountered the perils of the 17th June, 1775, many of them realized but few of the blessings for which they staked their lives. How few of them have survived to witness such of the happy consequences of the Revolution as have been unfolded within our experience! We trust in the providence of God, that, long after we have followed our fathers to the dust, still richer blessings will flow to our children, and our children's children, from those sacrifices and sufferings which we would now piously commemorate. It may be even so as regards the Monument. If the enthusiasm which, seven or eight years ago, was awakened on the subject of a Monument on Bunker Hill, is for the present extinct, be it so: it will revive again. The next generation, the next jubilee, will see



it rekindled warmer, more affectionate, more ardent for the delay. In the interval, the massy granite already laid will not soften ; and, if we do not rashly alienate the soil, the smooth green sod that now surrounds the rising obelisk will remain unchanged, to be trodden by the grateful and enthusiastic multitudes, who will then press forward to complete our unfinished work. If we sell the land, we shall, without raising a dollar to carry on the structure, take a step at once irreparable, and the best calculated to discourage all further effort on the part of those who have hitherto had it at heart to prevent the desecration of Bunker Hill.

Let us beware, then, of selling that famous field, rendered sacred by the deeds and hallowed by the relics of our ancestors ; and let those who set their names to such an act prepare to have those names covered with the execrations of the latest posterity, who will never cease to lament their avarice and stand amazed at their want of patriotism.

This pathetic appeal was virtually lost upon the people. It might have awakened their patriotic emotions for the moment, but it did not serve to induce them to make the trifling pecuniary sacrifice required to preserve entire the memorable field on which their fathers fought to give them LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE. If only Mr. Everett's timely warning had been heeded, with what added gratitude and joy would not the wealthy and enlarged metropolis of Boston now hail her newly acquired possession of the historic Charlestown!

The unfinished structure had now stood for four years, covered in by a temporary roof, with its hoisting mast lowered as if in defeat, and looking, as it stood surrounded by the massive stones prepared for

the upper courses, and lying promiscuously at its base, like a sublime ruin, the shock indeed of a great convulsion of nature. The winds of the wintry storm expended their fury upon it, the mast waved, the clattering boards moaned piteously to their rage, but it stood as firm as the everlasting rock. The sun and the moon in turn cast their lingering beams upon it, and then silently passed on, as if expecting each new revolution to greet its promised summit. But wait, and see what may come of the impending cloud threatening the country ! If the UNION, for which the fathers fought, be not, indeed, to last ; if President JACKSON, with his patriotic firmness, aided by WEBSTER in the Senate, do not now succeed in demolishing the Hydra doctrine of nullification, the Monument had better never be completed, but it should remain always unfinished, like a broken column, emblematic of a Republic of magnificent promise in its rise, but prematurely dismembered, and inglorious in its fall.







T. H. R. A.

Anna L. R. A.

Fig. 1. Diagram  
of the system  
of the law  
of the  
law

Fig. 2. Diagram  
of the system  
of the law  
of the  
law

Fig. 3. Diagram  
of the system  
of the law  
of the  
law

Fig. 4. Diagram  
of the system  
of the law  
of the  
law



1860.



## CHAPTER XII.

The proofs of TRUE MUNIFICENCE must be drawn from the uses to which a man of wealth applies his fortune.

**A**MOS LAWRENCE was of the highest type of manhood. He was born in Groton, Middlesex County, April 22, 1786. His father, Samuel Lawrence, was one of the minute-men of his town; and it is related of him that on the morning of the 19th April, 1775, when Colonel Prescott rode rapidly to his house from the neighboring town of Pepperell, and said to him, "Samuel, notify your men, the British are coming," he rode seven miles in forty minutes, notified every one, and on the next day he reached Cambridge with them after a rapid march of thirty miles; that he was in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and received a bullet through his cap which cut off some of his hair, and a grape-shot which grazed his arm. He lived to see the fiftieth anniversary of that event; he became a magistrate of the county, and held several offices in his town.

Amos Lawrence, though always in delicate health, and frequently detained at home by sickness, received an excellent education at the Groton Academy, which has since been so liberally endowed by him and his family, that their name has been given to it. After an

apprenticeship in a country store, he came to Boston upon being of age, and shortly established himself in business on his own account. He received his brother Abbott Lawrence as a clerk at the age of fifteen, and as a partner on his majority. The co-partnership thus formed was dissolved only by death. The house was known to be as successful and as highly respected as any in the city, or in the whole country. From the great wealth which Amos Lawrence acquired he made many liberal endowments in his lifetime. His constant charity was bounded neither by sectarian nor by narrow local lines. In the latter part of his life, he was not satisfied with conforming to the Christian standard of bestowing one tenth of his income, but, reversing it, he kept only the tenth part, and gave nine-tenths away. He derived so much pure enjoyment from becoming his own executor, that he imparted this secret of true happiness, where he thought it would avail, to some of his friends also blessed with wealth, and in several instances induced them to make specific gratuities where greatly needed; but the generous deed and its promoter were carefully kept from the public eye. He delighted in the silent flow of his own beneficence, and rejoiced in living a quiet, unostentatious Christian life. A man of large brain and a big heart, of keen sagacity and undeviating rectitude, he needed only confirmed health, so that he might continually go about, to make him the greatest philanthropist of the age.

It was to be expected from his heritage and his own character that he would embrace the plan of the



Association with enthusiasm, and that, supposing the public generally participated with him in the same feeling, he would have faith in its ultimate success, — a faith which he subsequently intended should be realized by his works, even if unaided. In the beginning of his labors, he had the following correspondence with Dr. Warren: —

DEAR SIR, — The contributions to the Monument are going on well. I have now no anxiety that the amount will fall below twenty-five thousand dollars. I have seen a number of the Committee, and they say there is an almost universally good spirit prevailing toward it. Almost every man gives something ; but the best contributions, and the most liberal, are from the young men and those in the middling walks of life.

I have not been so successful as I had hoped in the section of Ward No. 10, — embracing Colonnade Row round through Boylston Street, down to West Street, embracing that small square ; but it will not fall short of a thousand dollars, including Mr. Lowell's, Mr. Rice's, and my own subscription, which makes one half that sum.

Our Row *ought* to have given that at least, but some of the gentlemen who are very rich profess to care nothing about it, and give little, less even than some of the industrious young carpenters and masons. To-morrow another Committee takes it into another section of the ward : the ward is divided into five sections.

I would by no means publish the names of contributors at present ; some of the large subscriptions have been made under an express pledge that they shall not be *newspapered*. I think it was a sad mistake your Committee made in publishing single subscriptions in the first place : it has well-nigh ruined you. When your subscriptions are through, it may then be a matter to be well considered whether to give them a newspaper publicity.

It will be well, however, to take notice now of the progress the subscriptions are making, as many people like to hear it is going on well.

Yours truly,

AMOS LAWRENCE.

Dr. WARREN.

If I had some blank certificates, I could get some more money with them.

---

Boston, Nov. 23, 1824.

DEAR SIR,— Agreeably to your suggestion, I send you twenty blanks, and shall be happy to send more, if you find them useful to the execution of your plans.

In regard to the publication of the subscriptions, I believe you and your friends differ from the general opinion. There may be a few individuals who are sufficiently disinterested and patriotic to give their money from a sentiment of public good; but nine out of ten are influenced in their donations by the consideration of the opinion which the public will have in regard to them; and, if it were once understood that their names and contributions were to remain unpublished and unknown, I fancy the subscription would not be a very great one. In regard to the publication of the first subscriptions, it is possible that one or two might have been advantageously omitted; but, even with the unfavorable impression made by these, I have no hesitation in saying, that not one circumstance has more powerfully operated to excite the true feeling than the publication of those subscriptions. I do not, therefore, admit it to be a sad mistake, but a most fortunate occurrence.

In a word, my dear sir, it is much more easy to find fault than to improve; and I doubt whether so great an object could have gone on with more success than this has done thus far, under any management. However, I believe the

effect of the first publication to be sufficient for the present purpose, as it leads every one to expect their names to *appear* first or last ; and therefore I shall not press the point, especially as I have no doubt that your influence and assiduity will more than compensate for any deficiency on other grounds.

I remain, very faithfully, yours,

JOHN C. WARREN.

It appears by the following letter that he foresaw the awkwardness of the situation, — in which indeed many honorable persons find themselves placed, but feel conscious of being able to meet, — that of being obliged in one capacity to negotiate with himself in another. Nevertheless, he determined for his own part not to be put in such a position: —

Boston, Feb. 28, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, — I held five shares in the Quincy Railway Company, which I subscribed for originally, solely to aid the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and have held them to this time for the same purpose ; but the time has now come when I am required to act in the double capacity of *Committee-man* for the Bunker Hill Monument Association and proprietor in the railway, in a matter of bargain between the two. Although I feel that my bias is strongly toward the Monument, I do not wish to be placed in a situation that any one can say hereafter that *I bargained with myself*, and, whether with justice or not, that the railway made money out of the Monument. I some time since had an application for my stock, which I declined selling, but shall offer it for sale immediately at cost and interest. If I sell it, I will serve on the committee to which I was appointed at the last meeting of the Building Committee ; if I do not sell it, shall decline serving on that committee, and nominate yourself in my place.

I hope the Railway Company may be induced to contract to perform the work for a less sum than the sub-committee were authorized to pay.

Very truly yours,

AMOS LAWRENCE.

Dr. J. C. WARREN,

*Chairman of Building Committee B. H. M. A.*

As soon as he saw his way clear to take the office of member of the Building Committee, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with every detail of the work, with the cost of every part, and the means of payment. Acting as Secretary of the Committee, and keeping all the papers, he soon came to admire Mr. Willard's admirable methods, and the wonderful skill and economy with which he managed every thing. He felt the great loss which Mr. Willard's withdrawal would be to the Association, and he earnestly strove to prevent it, as the following letters will show: —

BOSTON, June 20, 1827.

DEAR SIR, — I am truly sorry for your determination in giving up the superintendence of the Monument. The measure will be a serious injury to its progress the present season. At any rate, I most anxiously desire that you will continue your judicious care for a few days, until we can look about us; and in the mean time, perhaps, some arrangements can be made that will be satisfactory to you. I have been at your lodgings and shop this morning, in hopes of seeing you. If you will name any time and place when and where I can see you, I will do it. You have *too much regard* for the object of your long continued labor to be willing to see it put in jeopardy by any feelings of a private nature. Again I most earnestly desire you to continue for a few days.

Truly yours,

A. L.

S. WILLARD, Esq.

JUNE 22.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I saw you, I have seen Mr. Willard, and among the reasons he gives for resigning his place as superintendent of the Monument (none being given in the note I showed you from him) *are* that the *Chairman of the Building Committee* has never felt an interest *in the success of the plan*, and that he will not be likely to help it along ; but, on the contrary, will retard it. He has strong prejudices, and it is difficult to remedy them. I have obtained from the head *quarryman* and *Mr. Savage* an *outside* estimate of the cost of laying ten courses (26 $\frac{2}{3}$  feet), which they make \$9,938. This, I have no doubt, is an *outside* estimate.

I promised to inform you when I should learn the reasons Willard gives for leaving the work. Had I better send Willard's note to the Chairman? I have had strong hopes the thing might blow over, and the Colonel not know it, but Willard, I think, does not intend to return.

A. L.

Gen. SULLIVAN.

General Dearborn wrote him an earnest letter, desiring him to withdraw his opposition to a lottery, and intimating that, by his influence in favor, the grant could be obtained, and that in no other way could the desired means be raised at that time. But he was firm in his opposition. He had the opinion that, when the Monument should be carried up to the height of forty feet, it would plead its own cause, and the money could easily be procured. He induced his associates to join with him in obtaining a loan upon the pledge of the land outside the reserved square, and General Sullivan, Dr. Warren, Colonel Perkins, General Dearborn, and himself gave their personal obligations to the Suffolk Bank for \$22,000.

As a last resort, when other measures had failed, he appealed to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association in the following letter: —

BOSTON, April 24, 1833.

GENTLEMEN, — Being myself earnestly desirous that the Bunker Hill Monument should be completed according to the original plan, and that *that*, together with the *whole* of the land now owned by the Bunker Hill Monument Association in Charlestown, being the famous battle-field, be dedicated and preserved to the public as a perpetual memorial to future generations of the ardent love of liberty and the pure principles of patriotism, of the hardy virtues which influenced their ancestors to attempt, and enabled them to achieve, our national independence, I present this proposition to you, believing that any object which powerfully approves itself to your Association is sure to find favor with the public. It is unnecessary to look back for errors in the management of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, as such retrospect will do nothing in aid of our present plan. It is sufficient to state that the Association is in debt twenty-eight thousand dollars, and that two-thirds of this famous field is liable to be sold for the payment of this debt. If saved from *deseccration*, at no very distant time the whole field will be estimated as above price. Sixty thousand dollars will finish the Monument, secure the whole field, and do something towards fencing and ornamenting it. To collect this sum requires a strong movement, but it can be done. The present is the most favorable time to do it there has been for some years. My brothers will give their influence, labor, and money in aid of it, and I will pay five thousand dollars, provided fifty thousand dollars be paid, or secured to be paid, within three months from all sources, or ten per cent on any less sum than fifty thousand dollars. Your Association had it in contemplation to purchase or build a suitable edifice for your own occasions a few years since, and I believe were prevented by considerations of prudence in regard to the state

of your funds. I shall esteem it a privilege to contribute the same amount to this object, if you still have it in view, that I do to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, if the plan succeeds of saving the land by your aid, or I will apply the amount in such other way as will be most useful that you may point out for the benefit of your Association.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) AMOS LAWRENCE.

Hon. S. T. ARMSTRONG,	}	<i>Members of the Mass. Charitable Mechanic Association.</i>
Hon. CH. WELLS,		
J. T. BUCKINGHAM, and		
J. P. THORNDIKE, Esq.,		

This society was established in Boston in 1795, under the influence of Paul Revere, the patriot leader of the people during the Revolution, and afterwards the conspicuous supporter of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. It was incorporated ten years afterwards, and had grown up to be one of the most flourishing societies in the country. Its membership had always included the leading mechanics and manufacturers of the State. Its objects have been improvement in arts and manufactures, a charitable care for fellow-members overtaken by misfortune, and the promotion of social intercourse. By the shrewd management of its fund, its means of doing good have become great, and its high character has long been established. Its roll of active members includes many of the leading men in the city and the Commonwealth, and it has conferred honorary membership upon distinguished statesmen and scholars, commencing with the elder Adams, the second President of the United States. For orators it has had

Webster, Everett, and Winthrop. Its triennial fairs and festivals have become celebrated.

It was a happy thought of Mr. Lawrence to address the leading gentlemen of this society, and they could not overlook the terms of his proposition. It was deemed of such importance that a special meeting of the society was called, at which the letter was read, and Joseph T. Buckingham, the President, Samuel T. Armstrong, Charles Wells, and John P. Thorndike were appointed a Committee to confer with the Directors of the Monument Association, and to report measures for action. The Directors cordially assented to a new popular effort to be made in the name of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, and appointed General Sullivan, Amos Lawrence, and Thomas J. Goodwin a Committee to confer with them respecting the officers to be elected at the next annual meeting, in order that they might more fully be represented in the government of the Monument Association.

A meeting of the Mechanic Association was called at Faneuil Hall on Tuesday, May 28, 1833, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in aid of the Bunker Hill Monument. The whole public were invited. The Directors of the Monument Association voted to attend in a body, published notices inviting the members of the Association also to attend, and furnished the speakers for the occasion.

Faneuil Hall was crowded and densely packed as



never before. President Buckingham called the meeting to order, and read the resolutions adopted by the Trustees, and an address to the people of the Commonwealth, signed by all the members of the government of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. George Blake introduced appropriate resolutions, which he enforced in a concise, sententious speech. Colonel Charles G. Greene followed to second the resolutions in a brief speech, pertinent and well delivered. He declared that "Every one who values the name of an American, and the high character his country has assumed among the nations of the earth, must be anxious to have the first step in her brilliant career marked by a memorial worthy of its importance. And, again, it is to the cause of Liberty and the Rights of Man that this Monument is to be erected; and who that values these blessings but will wish to see this splendid token of their existence, pointing in the perfection of its grandeur to the Great Source from whence they emanated."

The next speaker was Mr. Everett, who seems to have been ever ready to answer to the calls made upon him in behalf of the public, and especially of the Monument. He might have well declined at this time, — as most men would have done, — upon the ground that, if his advice had been followed, the Monument, such as he proposed, would have been finished, and the whole land would have been held, and now enjoyed, ornamented, and free of debt, and that he had already devoted as much of his time and energy to the object as he could afford. But no: he

felt that a great public duty was yet to be performed, and he was willing to do his part until it was performed.

Webster, in his eulogy upon Adams and Jefferson, describing true eloquence, said, "It must consist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion;" but Everett often himself *made* the occasion. The Monument was now a trite theme. He had written several addresses upon it, which had been everywhere circulated, and had been thoroughly read. What more could he say? As he stepped forward upon the platform hearty cheers welcomed him. It was his first speech in Faneuil Hall. In his graceful presence, his kindled eye, and earnest expression, there was a magic magnetism which won rather than commanded attention. He addressed the Society as brethren, being an honorary member. He alluded to the reproaches cast upon the management of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and he stood ready to take his full share from any one who had given as much time as he had, or even, from any one who would agree to give as much in future, he would be willing to receive what he considered unmerited censure. But the Monument unfinished for so many years had come to be a public reproach, and a disgrace to this generation. He knew that they all felt it was time that it was completed, and yet they would not do it from the feeling that they were about to take off the reproach, but from the conviction that a Monument should be built, even if one had not been

commenced. He then demonstrated at length with copious illustration the utility of the Monument, proving that, after all, taking in view the aims and purposes of life, the greater gratification one derives from the higher moral sentiments, and the immense advantage to the public from their inculcation by so proud a memorial, it was really the best and most useful thing they could do for the public good. He next carried them back to the times when the fathers of the Revolution spoke to the people in this very Hall; he reminded them of the self-denial, the devoted heroism of Warren, of his conspicuous courage and devotion in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and he closed with repeating in thrilling accents, and as if in application to them at this very moment, the well-known words which had before echoed within these walls: "The voice of your Fathers' blood cries to you from the ground."

The effect was unexampled. The shortened address of Judge Story which followed, though highly appropriate and impressive, seemed, in comparison, like the benediction pronounced by another clergyman after the entrancing sermon of an eloquent divine. Every one said, as the assembly broke up, "The Monument is completed," so thoroughly persuaded were they all that this grand appeal would be followed by instantaneous action, needing no other prompter.

Mr. Lawrence felt great chagrin that the favorable opportunity was not immediately improved. If he had been well, he said, he would have obtained the whole amount in forty-eight hours. If Mr. Buckingham, who presided, had, before the adjournment,

called from the chair for subscriptions, he might have obtained all the money needed on the spot. But they waited until the address of the Committee should be sent to all the towns in the State, as if they would be accompanied by the persuasive presence and voice of the great orator.

At the ensuing annual meeting of the Monument Association, the Directors reported some new by-laws which were adopted. By these the Government was vested in a Board consisting of the President, five Vice-Presidents, fifty Directors, the Treasurer and Secretary; it was also recommended to choose the President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association for the time being in this and all future elections the first Vice-President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, which arrangement has always been continued. At this meeting the former officers of the Monument Association were re-elected; and Mr. Buckingham, *ex officio*, Samuel T. Armstrong, and Charles Wells were the first three Vice-Presidents, leaving Dr. Warren and General Sullivan to be the fourth and fifth. The twenty additional Directors were officers and leading members of the Mechanic Association, being at the same time members of the Monument Association. The Board continued till 1836, with the single alteration in 1835 of Joseph Jenkins, chosen fifth Vice-President in place of General Sullivan resigned. A new Diploma was authorized to be engraved at the expense of the Monument Association, and a very large number of

copies were struck off and placed in the hands of the Mechanic Association, to be given to the subscribers they might obtain.

Mr. Everett wrote the following letter to General Sullivan in relation to the style of the Diploma, and a new mode of raising money: —

CHARLESTOWN, 8th July, 1833.

DEAR SIR, — I have yours of the 5th. I deeply regret that my engagements are such as again to put it out of my power to attend the meeting of the Directors.

I like your sketch of a certificate very much. As at present advised, I should think there would be a propriety in having each certificate signed (*not fac-similed*) by the President and Secretary. Their offices point them out as the proper signers, and their relation to Colonel Prescott would give a peculiar fitness to their signing. There are other names entitled, by services rendered to the undertaking, to be connected with this memorial of it; but I do not know on what principle of selection you could proceed, by which you could get their names upon the certificate, without including others.

But I am myself strongly inclined to think that, on the score of economy, it would be better to issue, at present, merely a printed paper to each new subscriber, certifying that he is one, and stating it to be the purpose of the Directors, when the work is completed, to deliver to each member an engraved certificate. The paper might set forth some reasons for this course.

You observe that the half of the tolls of the old bridge for June, amounting to nearly \$700, has been paid. Unfortunately the sensitive jealousy of some of the friends of the new bridge went far in impairing the effect of the arrangement made by the Directors of the old bridge. Others, however, of the new bridge people (as John Skinner and Eben

Breed), fell in cordially. But for the unhappy jealousy alluded to, the moiety of the tolls would have been at least \$1,000, and in that event the arrangement would have been continued, and would of itself have been nearly adequate to raise what we yet want. Now I want you, in your practical wisdom and tact, to devise the means of setting this going again, under kindlier auspices. Get the Directors of the old bridge to renew the arrangement, with possibly some modification; and get round General Austin, of Charlestown, and persuade him to take a different view of the subject.

Perhaps the old bridge would consent to give us the entire net increase of toll over the average of their former receipts. I know it is expecting them to be kindly disposed; but as by *net increase*, I understand the excess over the old average, after a fair deduction for wear and tear of bridge and expense of collection, I do not know why they should not. It would not be against their interest, and it would conciliate some favor, and promote the end we have at heart.

Perhaps a small, respectable Committee of the Directors (and that body could furnish no other), to confer with the Directors of the old bridge and the new, and take measures, would be useful. Such a Committee could have done something to make the arrangement more effective in June. I wrote about twenty communications in newspapers, and letters to procure them written; but the knowledge of the arrangement did not fairly spread into the region of the main Eastern travel,—did not *soak* into the country.

I think we may yet get \$1,000 per month out of the old bridge. With great respect,

E. EVERETT.

P. S. The lines from Percival are very pretty, but the idea they inculcate seems at variance with the Monument.

A word from the gentlemen who acted as counsel for the new bridge might do good.

The new Diploma, however, bore the *fac-similed* signatures of the fifty-eight officers of the Associa-

tion. It was twice as large as the first Diploma. No report was made to the Monument Association of the persons to whom it was issued.

The following is the concluding part of one of these communications written for the newspapers by Mr. Everett for the purpose of drawing the travel over Charles River Bridge, in order to help on the Monument. This appeared in the Boston "Advertiser:" —

We trust our friends on all hands, who drive out on parties of pleasure during the month, will take this direction, and pass Charles River Bridge. It is a very favorable time to see the Dry Dock in the Navy Yard, especially if Old Ironsides should, as is anticipated, be taken into it this month. Chelsea Beach is one of the finest drives on the coast. The Nahant Hotel is opened. The range of country through Malden, the upper part of Charlestown, Medford, and West Cambridge, furnishes a delightful excursion. For a shorter excursion, besides the Navy Yard, Charlestown itself furnishes much attraction. The State Prison is now a perfect specimen of the improved system of prison discipline, and well worth examination by intelligent strangers. The simple monument to Harvard on Burying Hill is a very pleasing object; and old Bunker Hill itself is worth a pilgrimage to every one who has not, or who has already, visited it. In short, we do not well see how a man could get so much good out of his toll as by paying it at the old bridge during the month of June.

General Nathaniel Austin, to whom Mr. Everett's letter refers, was the brother of William Austin, the author and lawyer before mentioned, and was the champion of the Free Bridge doctrine, by which the Warren Bridge was built. It was claimed by many that after the subscribers, who built that bridge, had

been reimbursed from the tolls, and had surrendered it to the State, according to the terms of their charter, it would be lawful and expedient to continue the tolls for the general benefit of the State, and further that the State was bound so to do, as long as the extended charter of the Charles River Bridge was in force, as this would be of no value if the new bridge were free. General Austin insisted that the toll on the bridge was like a tax upon a highway, and that it was not lawful to tax a highway, except for its own support. He feared the precedent of applying any portion of the tolls even to building the Monument. So Mr. Everett and General Sullivan were again disappointed in their expectations.

The Directors of the Monument Association acceded to the suggestion of the Trustees of the Mechanic Association that the latter should have the charge of continuing the building of the Monument under a Building Committee by them appointed, but also under the supervision of an Executive Committee on the part of the Monument Association. Mr. Buckingham, General Sullivan, John Skinner, Ebenezer Breed, George Darracott, Nathaniel Hammond, William W. Stone, Joseph Jenkins, and John P. Thorn-dike were made this Committee. They immediately appointed a sub-committee of three to make examinations and estimates as to the work done and to be done, — who expended a vast amount of time and labor, for which they received the thanks of the whole Board. Their report is as follows: —



The Committee appointed to ascertain what proportion of the Bunker Hill Monument had already been completed, the quantity of material now on hand ready for use, the amount of stone required to complete the structure according to the original plan, and the probable cost of the same, have attended the duty assigned them, and herewith subjoin their report: —

That, after a very careful and minute examination and investigation, they employed Mr. Perez Loring, an able and experienced measurer, who with great care has gone over the whole ground, and has also compared his own actual ad-measurements with the original plans, and with the advice and assistance of Mr. Solomon Willard, the able and original architect, has given a tabular statement, not only of the whole amount required, but the quantity in each course, thus enabling your Committee to calculate with some degree of certainty the cost of erection to any given height, should it be thought advisable to vary the original plan; and they find, as will be shown by schedule A, that the whole amount of stone required to build the Monument to the original height of 220 feet is 87,032 cubic feet. Of this amount, 35,876 feet have already been laid in the Monument, leaving 51,156 feet required to complete the structure. Your Committee also find that there is now on the hill, quarried and dressed, and ready to go into the work, 5,910 feet, and leaves the amount required to complete the work 45,256 feet; and this amount is further reduced by a quantity of stone quarried, but not dressed, amounting to 16,016 feet, which leaves to be quarried 29,230 feet. By reference to the aforementioned schedule A, it will be seen at a single glance the quantity of coarse and fine hammering required to fit this stone and prepare it for use in the work. Thus far your Committee have but little difficulty in completing the task assigned them; but a still further duty devolved upon them, and one which your Committee have found more laborious, and attended with more difficulty than had been anticipated. They allude to the more important part of estimating the probable expense

of completing the structure ; and your Committee would here premise that, this work being unique in its kind, no possible diligence on their part could enable them to do more than approximate towards the truth in any estimate which they might hazard. If, on the one hand, they measured this work by the standard of works approximating in a very small degree towards this in magnitude, and based their estimates upon prices paid for heavy masses of granite, which had been used upon public and private buildings in the vicinity, the estimates would so far outrun the extent of any means which would probably ever be within the control of the Association that the enterprise would probably be abandoned in despair ; and if, on the other hand, they were willing to take the estimates of the very able and intelligent engineer who has heretofore superintended and directed the work, they should have gone directly in opposition to the opinion of every practical man with whom they advised, and were fearful they should have made a report which would have led to error, and the sum raised would have been found insufficient to complete the work, and consequently another appeal would have been necessary to the liberality and patriotism of the public. They have therefore adopted that course which, upon the whole, appeared most advisable and most safe to your Committee ; viz., to base their report upon this as they should upon that of any other public or private work which they were called to estimate upon, — viz., the opinions of practical men actively engaged in business of a similar character, and of their own judgment.

By reference to schedule B, it will be seen that your Committee estimate the expense of completing the Monument according to the original plan to the height of 220 feet, in addition to the sums already expended, at the sum of \$55,576.40 ; if the Monument is carried to the height of 159 feet 6 inches, then the sum required, in addition to that already laid out, will be \$42,922.40 ; and if only 121 feet, in addition to that already laid out, will be required \$28,967.36.

By a reference to the same schedule, it will also appear that the estimates are the cost per foot of quarrying, dressing, transporting, laying, &c., and a sum for contingent expenses.

The amount of the estimate, divided by the number of square feet required, will give for the cost of each cubic foot laid in the work, including every contingent expense, not far from \$1.30 per cubic foot. It will also be seen by reference to the printed statement of Mr. Willard, published in 1830, that according to the estimates made by him that the expense per cubic foot is but 89½ cents for the stone laid in the work. It will also be seen that if the amount of the work completed, say the number of cubic feet laid, divided into the amount of moneys expended, will leave a sum much larger than in the present estimate for contingencies, which contingencies in the opinion of your Committee is very satisfactorily accounted for ; and the greatest discrepancy of opinion between your Committee and Mr. Willard is whether these or similar contingencies will again accrue. It is with extreme reluctance your Committee find themselves obliged to differ in opinion with one who has had so much better opportunity than themselves to form a correct judgment, than it is possible for them to have done of the nature of a work of this magnitude, and from one too who has done more than any other individual to forward this great work, and who by his professional skill and great assiduity has accomplished more with the same amount of money than any other individual could probably have done ; but for the reasons before stated your Committee felt themselves bound to make such an estimate as in their opinion will cover the whole expense.

GEORGE DARRACOTT.  
JOHN P. THORNDIKE.  
NATH. HAMMOND.

Boston, January 15, 1834.

Mr. Willard was naturally exceedingly vexed that the Committee should have added nearly fifty per cent to his own estimate: he thought that no better test could be given than the actual results of what had been done. Mr. Darracott, however, made what amends he could at the annual meeting in 1834, by stating "That for beauty of material, accuracy of

architectural design, and excellence of workmanship, no work in the world can be considered superior to this Monument, so far as it has gone on; and that the work has been done for less money than it could again be done for, and that no credit is due to the suggestion that the work has cost more money than it ought to have cost; and also that the doing of this work so well, and for so little money, is to be attributed almost exclusively to Mr. Willard, who has not only devoted his time and eminent ability, but has actually contributed one thousand dollars in money to building the Monument."

Mr. Buckingham presented at the same meeting the following report of the Executive Committee, drawn up in his own concise and vigorous style: —

*Annual Report to the Members of the Bunker Hill Monument Association,  
at their Meeting, on the Anniversary of June 17, 1834.*

Since the last anniversary, the Board of Directors have made every exertion in their power to advance the purposes of the Association. The general depression, arising from the state of the country, has been unfavorable to these exertions: there is little reason to doubt that, in the ordinary state of prosperity, the full amount of the subscriptions desired would have been obtained. Public occurrences have, however, had this beneficial effect, — they have turned the attention of the whole people to the principles of the American Revolution; and in this view Bunker Hill Monument holds a higher rank in the public esteem than ever.

The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association have persevered in their labors, and expect to raise a sufficient sum to complete the Monument to the elevation which the Directors have agreed on. The cost of doing this has been ascertained by an intelligent and careful Committee.

The only obstacle to going on with the work immediately, and finishing the Monument as soon as the work can be done, is the debt incurred for buying the battle-ground, in the hope that this ground might be kept open and sacred for ever. The Board of Directors have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the ground must be sold, reserving a square of four hundred feet, with streets of fifty feet wide on the sides thereof. It was hoped that the land around the square, and the 127,000 feet not on the square, divided into shares of five hundred dollars, would sell for the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. Such sale has not yet been effected, but it is hoped it will be.

The land is supposed to be worth the money for which it is offered, and the interest upon that money, if the power to redeem should arise; and if no redemption should occur, that the purchasers would be fully repaid in the land itself. There is another resource: if the Monument be completed, the annual visitors may be computed at ten thousand in number; and, if each visitor (as is customary elsewhere, as to public works) should pay fifty cents, the Monument might pay for the land.

On the whole, the Association and the public may be encouraged that the Monument will be completed; that, when completed, it will be an object of such proud exultation to this age, and to the whole country, that all who have aided to raise it will derive the highest gratification in that the work is done. It may hereafter be said of this Monument, with more propriety and more feeling than the Greeks were accustomed to speak of their statue of Olympian Jupiter, that "*to have lived, and to have died, without having seen it, was to have lived in vain.*"

JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM,	}	<i>Executive Committee of the B. H. Monument.</i>
WM. SULLIVAN,		
JOHN SKINNER,		
EBENR. BREED,		
GEORGE DARRACOTT,		
NATHANIEL HAMMOND,		
WM. W. STONE,		
JOSEPH JENKINS,		
JOHN P. THORNDIKE,		

It was determined that the Monument should be deemed completed as to any effort at the present time, when raised to the height of one hundred and fifty-nine feet and six inches. The work was recommenced under the direction of Mr. Willard as architect, of Charles Welles, George Darracott, John P. Thorndike, the Building Committee, on June 17, 1834, and was continued till November, 1835, when it was again suspended for want of funds. The amount expended during this period was \$20,421.77, of which about \$16,000 was raised by subscription by the Mechanic Association, and the balance was the Ladies' Fund, and other money from the Treasury of the Monument Association.

In 1836, Judge Prescott resigned his office as President, and Mr. Edward G. Prescott as Secretary. Mr. Buckingham was elected President, Francis O. Watts Secretary, and G. Washington Warren was elected Director in the place of Nathan Tufts, deceased.

The anniversary this year was marked by a very successful local celebration, under the auspices of the young men of Charlestown. Mr. Everett was then Governor of the Commonwealth, and resided in Charlestown, in the elegant mansion built and formerly occupied by Mr. Seth Knowles, in Harvard Street. His official co-operation gave *éclat* to the occasion. His brother Alexander H. Everett was the orator, whose oration was afterwards extended, and published in the series of Sparks's Biography, under the title of the Life of Warren.

At the dinner which followed, reference was made by Colonels Robert C. Winthrop and John H. Clifford, of the Governor's staff, in their speeches, to the unfinished Monument; and it was suggested that the young men who had got up so fine a celebration should make an organized effort for its completion. In response to this suggestion, it was then arranged that a public meeting should be called in a week from that day.

At the meeting held June 24, in the Town Hall in Charlestown, Robert C. Winthrop, Albert Fearing, Charles H. Parker, Thomas J. Shelton, Charles G. Greene, Seth J. Thomas, Joshua Bates, James Dana, G. Washington Warren, and William Sawyer were appointed a joint Committee, on the part of Boston and Charlestown, to communicate with other towns. Speeches were made by the four last named, and by William W. Wheildon. This Committee had several meetings, and prepared and forwarded their circulars to every postmaster in the State. No response was returned. Possibly some seed was scattered where it afterwards produced fruit.

The money that was hired in 1827 and 1828, under the authority given by the Directors, to carry up the Monument to a respectable altitude, the principal sum being \$22,000, had in 1834 reached by the accumulation of interest to over \$30,000. For this the five gentlemen who were jointly and severally responsible to the Suffolk Bank were notified that the Bank would look to them personally for immediate payment. Some of

them declared that it would be a great inconvenience and hardship to them to advance the money, and wait for repayment until the land could be sold. Dr. Warren offered to give \$500 to the Monument, to be released from his liability.

It was found necessary to make the land marketable, to reduce the reserved square in the northerly direction from 600 to 417 feet. When this was duly authorized, a company of twenty-five gentlemen was formed, after a great effort, who together took, in different proportions, fifty shares at \$500 a share, making \$25,000, and all the land except the diminished square and the streets, to be made fifty feet wide, bounding upon it, was conveyed to Thomas B. Wales, William I. Bowditch, and William W. Stone, as trustees for the subscribers, with the condition that the Association should receive a reconveyance, at any time on or before June 17, 1837, on repaying the principal and interest, and all the taxes that might be levied. Mr. Lawrence paid to the Bank the difference between the sum raised and the debt due, which was over \$5,000; he was not repaid until six years afterwards.

A year before the term of redemption expired, the country had fallen into the lowest state of financial depression it had ever witnessed. This disastrous condition of affairs continued from the fall of 1836 to the spring of 1840. An attempt to obtain subscription for any public object, not demanding absolute and immediate relief, would have been utterly vain. The trustees, after waiting a year from the time that



the right of redemption had expired, gave notice that they should proceed to put the land in condition for public sale, unless it was at once redeemed. Hearing nothing in reply, they authorized Samuel M. Felton and George A. Parker, skilful engineers who had been trained in the office of Colonel Baldwin, to make the necessary contracts to grade the land. As soon as the contractors appeared on the old battle-field in force, and with their numerous workmen and teams commenced to strip the sod, and cart away the earth, a public pang was felt. It seemed as though the oft-repeated appeals of the Directors would now be listened to. In this stir of temporary emotion, the Directors, September 15, 1838, appointed Nathan Hale, George C. Shattuck, Samuel T. Armstrong, George Darracott, Francis J. Oliver, Ebenezer Breed, and Thomas Edmands a Committee to consider what could be done ; they arranged with the trustees for still another chance to redeem the land, by paying to the contractors \$250 for the cost of suspension of work for thirty days. The Committee, by Mr. Hale, September 26, reported that, though the repurchase of the land would be desirable, if practicable consistently with a prospect of an early completion of the Monument, the attempt now to raise the \$33,000 asked would retard the more important object. Thus the effort to save so large a part of the battle-field was abandoned for ever. The ground east and west of the square was cut down from eight to twelve feet, and a portion of the earth was used to fill up the northern declivity.

It is now well known that during all this time there was concealed in the will of Amos Lawrence a provision to the amount of \$50,000, for the redeeming of all the land from debt and the completion of the Monument. Fortunately for the credit of the country and for his own gratification, he lived several years after the Monument was finished by the work of many hands. It was a provision that he could not have executed in his lifetime on account of that dislike of even the appearance of ostentation in his deeds of munificence. To be pointed at as the man who finished the Bunker Hill Monument would have been too much honor for so modest a man to bear. Of a kindred spirit was General THEODORE LYMAN, one of the original associates and Directors. The delicate state of his health required him to withdraw in 1829; but, while seeking health, he was studying how best to promote one of the grandest works of beneficence. Not until his death, July 17, 1849, was it known that he was the giver, who kept even pace with the State, bestowing equal sums on the establishment and support of the State Reform School.

The only legacy that was ever realized was the handsome sum of \$1,000, bequeathed by NATHAN TUFTS, of Charlestown, who had been a Director. The great London banker, JOSHUA BATES, a native of Massachusetts, sent \$500 for the Monument. Mr. A. L. FORESTIER, of Batavia, sent nearly \$1,000, through his correspondent, Benjamin T. Reed.

It was confidentially communicated to the Directors by Mr. William Appleton that, whenever the Associa-

tion, in addition to a like offer of Mr. Lawrence, should have money enough within \$10,000 to finish their work, Mr. Touro would give that sum. It was a noble offer, and coming from a resident of a distant State, curiosity was excited.

JUDAH TOURO was born in Newport, Rhode Island, in the year 1776, the year from which the birth of the country is dated. His father, Isaac Touro, was a native of Holland, but came to Newport to live, and married there. He was priest of the Synagogue, and for many years conducted the Jewish service there. In 1802, Judah Touro established himself in New Orleans, when it was a Spanish town of less than ten thousand inhabitants, having brought in the vessel in which he sailed from Boston an assortment of New England commodities, in the disposal of which he was quite successful. He continued to receive consignments from correspondents; and by an undeviating course of strict attention to business, engaging in no outside affairs, he soon acquired an honorable mercantile name and a competent fortune. His most intimate friend was Rezin D. Shepherd, a native of Virginia, who settled in New Orleans about the same time, and became also a distinguished and a wealthy merchant. They were both engaged in the military defence of New Orleans in January, 1815, when attacked by the British army; and when Touro was wounded, and the surgeon had given him up for dead, Shepherd, foregoing at the time all other duties, gave his whole attention to restoring him to life, and did not leave him until he was removed to his home, and placed under the care of faithful nurses.

Shepherd and Touro became inseparable friends. For a long time they occupied the same dwelling. They became millionnaires together.

Touro died on the 18th January, 1854, after leading a long life of strict integrity and noble generosity. More than half of his great fortune he bequeathed to different charitable objects; he made his "dear, old, and devoted friend, Rezin Davis Shepherd," one of his executors and residuary legatee. His last injunction was, "When I am dead, carry me to the spot of my birth, and bury me by the side of my mother."

A devoted friend, who knew and loved him well, concludes a just tribute to his memory in the following words: "He was one of that smallest of all the classes into which mankind can be divided,—of men who accumulate wealth without even doing a wrong, taking an advantage, or making an enemy; who become rich without being avaricious; who deny themselves the comforts and enjoyments of life, that they may acquire the means of promoting the comfort and elevating the condition of their fellow-men."

That so many rich donations should at last flow so unexpectedly as the spontaneous offerings of noble and ingenuous hearts seemed almost to compensate for the long delay of the great work. But the Monument must still pause in its course, and, as it were, hug the ground, until the inspiring influence and delicate hands of the gentler sex shall help to raise it to the skies, whither Heaven-ward their purer spirits lead the way.





*Sarah J. Hale.*

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT THE AGE OF 83



### CHAPTER XIII.

Next to God we are indebted to women, — first for life itself, and then for making life worth having.

**S**ARAH JOSEPHA HALE has the honor of being the first who suggested to the public the co-operation of women in the building of the Bunker Hill Monument. In the "Ladies' Magazine," which was published and edited by her in Boston, she inserted a series of articles from her own pen upon the subject. The first article appeared in February, 1830, upon the worth of money, in which she insisted that the pursuit of money should not be inculcated on the young nor followed by the old, as the great end and aim of life; that the familiar maxim "Time is money" is a pernicious one, — it should rather be said "Time is the opportunity of doing good;" and she asked why the free people of our Republic should not "endeavor to shake off the dominion of selfishness, and make the object of their ambition, moral and mental excellence, rather than wealth." Her plan of co-operation was unfolded in the following extract, commencing with an allusion to the scheme of a lottery, then deemed by many the last resource of the Association: —

But the success of the petition is very doubtful, and indeed hardly to be desired. When we consider the grand event

which the Monument is designed to commemorate, the enthusiasm, the patriotic ardor and display, with which it was commenced, does it not seem humiliating, even degrading to the character of the State, that it cannot be finished unless an appeal be made to the avarice and gambling propensities of the people, which all good and wise men regret are ever permitted to operate?

Impressed with the importance of this subject, and thinking the crisis one in which the ladies may, without any infringement of that feminine propriety which they should scrupulously retain when coming before the public, offer their assistance, we would seriously suggest that an attempt be made by the women of Massachusetts (or of all New England, if that be thought best) to raise by their own exertions the sum of fifty thousand dollars, to be appropriated to the finishing of the Bunker Hill Monument.

It should be distinctly understood that the offering is expected to be, in effect as well as pretension, solely from the ladies. Neither husbands, fathers, or brothers are to be importuned for the money which is to be given. This must be obtained by the industry, economy, or self-denial of those who offer it. Are there not hundreds of ladies in this city who might spare for one year largely from the sum allotted for ornaments, and yet be sufficiently adorned? Are there not thousands of ladies in this rich State who would be willing to make an exertion in so noble a cause?

We would have none allowed to subscribe save females, and children of both sexes under the age of twelve years. What an opportunity would then be presented to mothers, to awaken in their children's hearts the love of country, of social order, and the refined enjoyment of doing good; and to imprint on their souls the deeds and virtues of those worthy men whose names should be held by Americans in everlasting remembrance!

After referring to the example of the Roman women who gave up their golden ornaments to pay the ran-



som of their captured city, the article concludes with the opinion that "those who resolve to aid the plan will feel, in the ennobling sentiments awakened by such a resolution, that the true value of money is to use it for purposes that purify the affections, improve the intellect, and strengthen and exalt the best feelings of our nature." In a subsequent article in the same magazine, Mrs. Hale cited the example of the women of Israel, who brought their bracelets and ear-rings and jewels of gold as offerings to their leader in the building of the tabernacle, and of "the wise-hearted women who spun with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue and of purple and of scarlet and fine linen," as is recorded in the thirty-fifth chapter of Exodus.

The muse of poesy also joined with her inspiration. "The Last of the Band," written by Mrs. Hale, representing the character of the last survivor of the brave soldiers of the Battle of Bunker Hill, appeared in her magazine in April, 1830.

Here are the first and the concluding stanzas of the poem, which bore appropriately the Roman signature of Cornelia: —

Yes, here is still the Mountain Grave; —  
 But where's the Pile they said would rise,  
 Throwing its shadow o'er the wave, —  
 Lifting its forehead to the skies, -  
 A Beacon far o'er land and sea,  
 Signal and Seal of Liberty?

. . . . .

They're gone — those old men all are gone !  
 Like autumn's latest leaves they passed;

Last of the Band, I am alone,  
 Quivering in age's winter blast; —  
 But ere I mingle with the dust,  
 Shall I not see my country just?

Mrs. L. H. Sigourney, the gifted poetess of Hartford, of world-wide fame, also communicated to the magazine anonymously — lest her husband might not like her co-operation — her sublime poem entitled "The Obelisk," the grand concluding lines of which form the appropriate motto of Chapter VIII.

Before any of these communications appeared, Mrs. Hale made an offer of her services to the Association, and received the following official reply: —

BRINLEY PLACE, ROXBURY,  
 Jan. 28, 1830.

MUCH-RESPECTED MADAM, — Your very interesting communication to Benjamin V. French, Esq., has been laid before the Building Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association; and, in accordance with the pleasant duty assigned me of announcing the favorable opinion which is entertained of your commendable proffer of services, I have the honor of transmitting the following transcript from its records: —

"At a meeting of the Building Committee on the 27th of January, 1830, the Chairman read a letter from Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, proposing to use her influence with the ladies of New England to raise a portion of the fund required for completing the Bunker Hill Monument.

"*Voted*, That the Chairman be requested to tender the thanks of the Committee, in behalf of the Directors, to Mrs. Hale, for her generous and patriotic offer, and to assure her that her plan for aiding the Association, in finishing the obelisk on the heights of Charlestown, not only meets their entire and cordial approbation, but merits the gratitude of every citizen of the United States."

Guided, Madam, by your beneficent precepts and cheering example, the MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS of New England will emulate that ardent love of country, for which those of Carthage were distinguished, by offering up their jewels on the altar of patriotism ; not to furnish forth the armaments of war, but to do honor to the names of those gallant citizens, who, in braving its dangers, achieved the INDEPENDENCE of the REPUBLIC.

They are not called upon, in the moment of invasion and dismay, to present the soldiers of the mustering phalanx with the buckler and the lance, but to perform the holy office of commemorating valor on the field of its glory,— of planting the flowers of immortality on the long-neglected graves of their illustrious ancestors, of rearing a mausoleum over the consecrated ashes of the heroes of the Revolution.

With the highest consideration and unfeigned respect, I have the honor to be, Madam, your most obedient servant,

H. A. S. DEARBORN,

*Chairman of the Building Com. B. H. M. A.*

Mrs. SARAH J. HALE.

This effort was condemned by some, because the women were “stepping out of their sphere,” and by others who asserted that whatever the women might contribute would come out of the men, and in most cases, perhaps, out of those who had already given to the same cause. To the first class of objectors, it was replied that it was highly becoming in women to appreciate the sacrifices of the fathers of the Revolution, who themselves received the sympathy, and even the participation in those sacrifices, of their wives and daughters ; and the second class were answered that, inasmuch as the subscription was limited to one dollar, and the smallest sum below that was received, it

could hardly be supposed that any woman, or child even, would be unable to spare something from the means which they had at their own disposal.

At a meeting of the Directors, on the 6th April, 1830, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted: —

The Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association having learned with great pleasure that “a number of ladies of Boston had formed a society with the intention of raising, by voluntary subscription, a sum of money to be appropriated towards completing the Bunker Hill Monument,” and that they have in an eloquent appeal invited the co-operation of the ladies of New England in the same design, therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That this commendable effort, in aid of the great and interesting object for which the Bunker Hill Monument Association was instituted, merits the grateful acknowledgment of the Directors; that they highly appreciate the exalted motives by which those patriotic ladies are actuated, the generous zeal they have evinced to participate in commemorating the early events of the Revolution, in doing honor to the names of their gallant countrymen, who, in the cause of freedom, fell on the heights of Charlestown, and in perpetuating the names and deeds of the illustrious founders of the independence, prosperity, and glory of the Republic.

2. *Resolved*, That whatever sum of money may be obtained by the ladies of New England, and transmitted to the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, shall be considered SACRED, and applied to the SOLE PURPOSE OF COMPLETING THE MONUMENT; that no part of said fund shall be appropriated for any other purpose than for prosecuting the work on the Monument as aforesaid.

3. *Resolved*, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the President and Secretary, and transmitted to the Corresponding Committee of the Society of Ladies, who have associated to collect funds for completing the obelisk.

4. *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published.

AMOS LAWRENCE, *2d Vice-President*.

H. A. S. DEARBORN, *Secretary*.

The following circular was issued to every town:—

*To the Women of New England.*

A number of ladies in Boston having formed a society with the intention of raising, by a voluntary subscription in this city, a sum of money, to be appropriated towards finishing the Monument on Bunker Hill, respectfully invite the co-operation of the ladies of New England in the same design.

The objects for which the Monument was projected, and the circumstances under which it was begun, seem to pledge the character of the people that it shall be completed; and, as the want of funds resulting from the general depression of business has for some time past suspended its progress, we deem it a proper occasion to bring in our offering, — the offering of industry, economy, or self-denial, as an aid in forwarding the work.

Another reason which marks the present time as peculiarly suitable for a contribution of this description is that it will be twice blessed. The money given will be a *charity* by furnishing employment for industrious laborers, as well as an aid in finishing a Monument to the memory of those pious patriots who, by perils and sacrifices, secured to us the peaceable enjoyment of our civil and religious privileges. We trust that none of our sex will be indifferent to these considerations. The subscription is confined to females; but children of both sexes are permitted to contribute, and the smallest sums given by them will be acknowledged. This regulation is adopted in the belief that a happy opportunity will thus be presented for mothers to impress on the hearts of their children the remembrance of that great event to which, as free Republicans, we should ever look back with feelings of fervent gratitude towards those who labored to secure our

independence and liberty, and with reverence and love towards the God in whom our *fathers* trusted, who crowned their efforts with success, and gave us the rich blessings which distinguish our land. Hoping, as we do, that the women throughout New England will feel interested in this plan of beneficence, the subscription is limited to one dollar. No one is invited to subscribe a larger sum, and smaller sums will be thankfully accepted. Donations to any amount will be received, and the names of the donors recorded.

Should any lady, being a native of New England, though now residing in some other part of the country, wish to contribute, her donation will be gratefully acknowledged.

The ladies in the various towns and villages of Massachusetts, and in all cities, towns, and villages of the other New England States, are invited to form societies in their respective towns, for the purpose of co-operating in this undertaking. After collecting the offerings that may be made, they will please to remit the amount to Nathaniel P. Russell, Esq., Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

Mrs. CALEB LORING,	Mrs. ABBOTT LAWRENCE,
„ J. G. PALFREY,	„ A. H. EVERETT,
„ JOHN PIERPONT,	„ J. B. DAVIS,
„ S. L. BLAKE,	„ DAVID L. CHILD,
„ SARAH J. HALE,	„ NATHAN HALE,

*Committee of Correspondence.*

Mrs. E. TUCKERMAN, *Treasurer.*

The following card appeared in the city papers: —

A CARD. — *To the Ladies of Boston.*

In consequence of repeated suggestions, from ladies whose opinions we think judicious, that there should be, in the city, places of deposit, where offerings for the Bunker Hill Monument may be left, — the Committee of Correspondence would respectfully state that donations and subscriptions will be received by

Mrs. E. TUCKERMAN, Beacon Street, and  
Miss PUTMAN, 14 Summer Street.

The Committee of Ladies trust that the approval of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and the cordial co-operation which the ladies in the country seem willing to give the plan, will induce every lady of Boston, who has it in her power, to contribute. It is calculated that *sixteen thousand dollars* will finish the Monument.

Printers in this city will confer a favor by inserting this card in their respective papers.

Although the sum collected in 1830, in answer to the admirable circular address written by Mrs. Hale, was, in one sense, insignificant, considering the high mark aimed at; yet the offerings came from more than three thousand women and children, who opened their hearts to the appeal. The public impression then made told ten years after.

Mrs. Hale in her last article thus reviewed the result: —

Even the few and feeble efforts we have been able to make, to engage our sex and the public in the completion of the Monument, will have a salutary effect: the community will, at least, call these things to mind; and we do not believe that, to an American heart, the battle of Bunker Hill can be an uninteresting subject, unless that heart is trifling or selfish, blinded by sophistry, or narrowed by prejudice.

Were the Monument completed, and the ground beautified, as might easily be done, would it not be a privilege to go from the dust and din of the city, and breathe the free air of that glorious elevation, and look abroad on the sublime and lovely prospect? Would not every Christian feel his gratitude to Heaven more deep and fervent, while reflecting how God blessed the small beginnings of our people, till they had become a mighty nation? Would not the patriot be incited to more disinterested exertions for his country, while standing on the spot where Warren fell? The obelisk will not be

the trophy of a victory ; — for our troops were defeated. It will not excite the soldier to battle ; but it will nerve the good man to perform his duty, even unto death. Such is the only lesson the Monument will teach.

At the annual meeting, held June 17, 1839, Leverett Saltonstall was elected a Vice-President in place of Samuel T. Armstrong, and G. Washington Warren was elected Secretary in place of Francis O. Watts. This meeting was adjourned for further action to the evening of July 1, when, on motion of William W. Stone, it was

*Voted*, That the Directors be requested to take measures to raise funds sufficient to complete the Monument, pay off the debt, and to grade and enclose the square with a suitable fence ; it being the opinion of this meeting that, with proper efforts, the necessary means for these objects may be raised at the present time.

A meeting of the Directors was held July 9, at which a committee was appointed in pursuance of the request of the Corporation. As to their doings, President Buckingham presented a desponding report at the annual meeting, June 17, 1840. He stated that the Directors under the preceding vote appointed the President, Thomas B. Curtis, Robert G. Shaw, William W. Stone, and such other gentlemen as they might ask to join them, to raise funds for completing the Monument ; that they invited thirty gentlemen to unite with them, to whom it was stated that two gentlemen were willing to contribute ten thousand dollars each ; and that only twenty thousand dollars more was wanted. It was suggested at the time of



their meeting that the season of the year was unpropitious, that many of our most wealthy citizens were absent, — the same old story as now, — and it was voted to postpone action till the autumn. In the autumn, some of the Committee suggested that a Fair might produce a very considerable sum in aid of the funds; but for various reasons it was thought impracticable at that time. That it was extremely difficult to find gentlemen willing to engage in the irksome and unpleasant employment of soliciting subscriptions. "Under all these circumstances," the report dolefully concludes, "it must be confessed that it is extremely doubtful whether the present generation will have the pleasure to see the Monument completed." But the gloom which overhung the Association was like the last thick cloud before the clearing up of the sky.

A meeting of the Directors was held eight days afterwards at their usual place, the Room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 50 State Street. The Secretary proposed the following vote: "That the President and Secretary, with such other members of the Corporation as may be willing to co-operate with them in the effort, be authorized and requested to solicit and receive subscriptions, and obtain sums by Fairs or other projects in aid of the completion of the great object of the Corporation, and that these gentlemen have power to adopt such measures as they may deem expedient in making this FINAL APPEAL to the people."

The Secretary stated, in support of his motion, that

where they could be used as a basis of credit for the trading and speculating classes. To this, and to the low tariff, was attributed the depressed condition of all business enterprises. But party lines then happily ran through every State, and each State gave its vote sometimes to one party and sometimes to another; thus, nearly even balanced in all the States, the parties and the people composing them knew no sectional lines of division.

The Fair opened in Quincy Hall, which is opposite to Faneuil Hall, on Tuesday, the eighth day of the month, and lasted seven days. The Hall was 382 feet long, and 47 feet wide. For the entrance a temporary stair-way was erected in the street, where was also built a ticket-office; the passage out being by the usual entrance at the other end. The tables were tastefully arranged along the sides; and in the space called the Rotunda, which is two feet wider, there were circular tables, arranged in the centre around an exact model of the completed Monument built on the scale of one inch to the foot, which were furnished by the ladies of Charlestown. There were forty-three tables, stored with a great abundance and variety of things to please the eye, to adorn the house or person, or to supply the common wants of life. The *coup d'œil* at the entrance was enchanting, not alone in the display of objects evincing great skill and industry, and in the tasteful ornamentation of the walls and tables, but in that indescribable grace and attractiveness of the active forms and sparkling coun-





tenances of those attending them, — their comely persons not gaudily overdressed, their ungloved hands showing winningly the desired articles, and with every diversity of form, feature, and carriage, still the same uniform expression beaming from every face, of patriotic feeling and of sympathy with the cause which brought them all together.

The excellent order, and the smooth and pleasant working of the Fair, were entirely owing to the high and honorable character of the ladies who managed and conducted it, and to the right start they took at the opening. They had the wisdom to adopt, and seasonably promulgate, the following: —

*Regulations of the Bunker Hill Monument Fair.*

As complaints had often been made of the manner in which sales at Fairs were effected, the ladies who have the care of the tables at this Fair agreed to observe the following regulations: —

1st. Each lady will endeavor that the articles on her table shall be good of their kind, and at fair prices.

2d. Change shall be given to purchasers as readily as though we were literally *behind the counter*; nor shall our desire for the completion of the Monument induce us to use importunity, or any other means of increasing our funds inconsistent with the respect we owe ourselves, and the cause in which we are engaged.

3d. The confectionery shall be sold at the same price as at the shops.

4th. There shall be no raffles, nor articles put up in any way to be drawn by chances.

5th. We will have no party emblems, nor any device connected with local politics.

6th. There shall be no Post-Office except the general one, which is for the *distributing*, not the *receiving* of letters, and is entirely under the control of the superintendents.

7th. Two marshals shall be appointed to each table by its superintendents.

8th. No lady assisting at a table shall be on the outside of it, and none but its attendants, except on some special occasion, allowed to be behind it.

9th. Each lady will consider herself responsible for the order and decorum of her table.

NOTE. — It was farther agreed that no season tickets should be issued; and, as the object was to make as much money as could *honorably* be done, the *free passes* were limited to those whose services were actually required in the Hall. The price of admission, after the first day, is *twenty-five cents*.

The first day of the Fair was for exhibition merely, on which day double price was asked. Four thousand persons gladly paid their half-dollar to enjoy the fresh first view. There was a daily issue of a neatly printed paper, entitled "The Monument," edited by Mrs. Hale, and printed in the Hall by S. N. Dickinson, on his rotary power press. It contained twelve columns of interesting reading, including appropriate local advertisements. Among the contributors were Mrs. Sigourney, who reproduced "The Obelisk" under her own well-known initials, and Miss H. F. Gould, another gifted poetess.

The post-office was indeed a fairy institution, to which the males chiefly resorted. It was in charge of the intellectual editress of the leading evening paper of the city, and it was constantly supplied. One had but to give his name in full, and sure enough there was an excellent letter in waiting for him, properly addressed, for which he had to pay twenty-five cents postage, as it had come all the way to Boston from Fairyland.

Although the tenth of September brought to Boston from every part of Massachusetts, and from other States, large numbers of persons, all partaking of the political excitement of the time, the banishment of party emblems and devices from the Hall kept the Fair perfectly agreeable to every one, and woman's influence served to allay all political animosity. The overcrowded hotels not being sufficient to accommodate the visitors, the houses of Whigs and Democrats were alike thrown open to hospitality. Mr. Webster was President of the Whig convention, and marched on foot at the head of the immense procession, with all the leading statesmen of the party, throughout the long route. Franklin Dexter was marshal of the great and unique procession. On arriving at Bunker Hill, at the place appointed for the mass meeting, it was proposed to ask for a contribution from each one in the long procession of one dollar, or any smaller sum, for the completion of the Monument. In this way, it was thought a large amount might be secured for the object in the name of the Whigs. But Mr. Webster replied that he did not deem it in the line of his duty as a Whig to propose it: he thought that the Bunker Hill Monument ought not to be associated with any party, and that the convention should do nothing to take from the ladies the credit that was due to them.

The delegation from Louisiana, however, in their capacity as citizens of that State, purchased at the Charlestown table the fine model of the Monument which adorned it, and they caused it to be transported

to New Orleans, and to be placed in one of the public buildings in honor of Judah Touro, where it remained until it was destroyed with the building by fire.

The distinguished gentlemen from the South and West, who came to attend the Whig convention, visited the Fair, many of whom enrolled their names in the subscription book kept by Mrs. Paige, and received from her a handsomely engraved certificate of their contributions; this book is preserved by the Association. During the evenings the Brigade Band was in attendance, and discoursed the finest music of the time. Thus day and evening there was every variety of attraction, and there was a constant feeling and a glow of satisfaction, displayed in the countenances of all, showing their happy belief that the great object was now indeed about to be accomplished.

Before the result of the fair was officially reported, the Directors entered into a contract with James Sullivan Savage for the completion of the Monument to its full original height of 220 feet, for the sum of \$43,800, the top to be finished according to a plan drawn by Mr. Willard, and the whole work to be done under his direction as architect. Charles Wells, George Darracott, John P. Thorndike, and Charles Leighton were appointed the Building Committee. The contract system was resorted to in deference to public opinion, as it seemed to be the general wish that the completion of the Monument should be made a certainty by a contract with responsible parties for a certain sum, within the amount of receipts. If Mr. Willard's esti-



mates, based upon the two former experiments in building, had been relied on, and the work had been continued by day labor under his direction, the profit realized by the contractor might have been saved to the Association. Undoubtedly, the best and most economical method of executing public or private works is by honest day labor, under competent and faithful supervision, like that of a Baldwin or a Willard.

The articles of agreement, embracing the contract, and containing many details, were prepared by John R. Adan, Esq., who rendered his services gratuitously. They were signed on the fourth day of November, 1840, and in less than twenty-one months were fulfilled by Mr. Savage to the letter. Charles Wells, the Chairman of the Building Committee, visited the Hill every working day during the time, and the other members were frequently there. The only difference in the performance of the work — showing, too, the progress of the age during the few years since the last suspension — was the introduction of the Steam Engine, which displaced the horse-power formerly used in the hoisting. It was a novel sight to behold the immense blocks of stone gracefully moving upward to their places, propelled by that mysterious and newly adopted force. By the aid of steam, the period of the construction was materially shortened.

When the obelisk reached the upper course of its pyramidal form, a general desire was expressed that some alteration should be made in the construction of

the apex, so that the visitor might safely come out on the top and enjoy the grand panoramic view of land, sea, and sky. A meeting of the Directors was called by the President July 5, 1842, to consider the suggestion; but after a full discussion it was unanimously voted, "as the sense of this Board, that the Monument be finished in accordance with the plan of Mr. Willard, the architect."

In a little over two years from the first suggestion of the Fair, the Secretary had the satisfaction to enter on the records of the Association: "On Saturday, July 23, 1842, at six o'clock in the morning, pursuant to public notice, the Directors and several hundred citizens assembled on Bunker Hill to witness the laying on of the top-stone upon the Monument. As the clock struck six, a signal gun was fired by the members of the Charlestown Artillery, and the cap-stone, which had been previously adjusted to the hoisting apparatus connected with the steam-engine, immediately began to ascend. It was surmounted by the American flag. In sixteen minutes, the cap-stone reached the place of its destination on the top of the Monument. At half-past six, it was embedded in cement, and a national salute fired by the Charlestown artillery announced the complete erection of the Monument." Colonel Charles R. Carnes of Charlestown went up with the flag on the cap-stone, and stood upon it, until it was put in place, when he was let down by the rope.

Returning now to the beneficent cause which made possible this glad event, the following was found to be the result in detail of the Ladies' Fair. It should

be understood that the ladies in charge of the several tables paid their own expenses, and returned the net amount, and the general expenses were only paid by the Committee: —

RECEIPTS.

Boston.	Mrs. J. C. Warren, Mrs. W. Appleton, Mrs. Rol-	
	lins, Mrs. Mills . . . . .	\$1,647.36
Charlestown.	Mrs. Hurd and Mrs. Walker . . . . .	1,546.37
Boston.	Mrs. Prescott, Mrs. F. Dexter, Mrs. W. H. Eliot,	
	Miss Gardiner . . . . .	1,321.45
„	Mrs. Bradlee, Mrs. Miles, Miss Lodge, and Miss	
	Wales . . . . .	1,200.00
	Picture presented by Sully, sold at above table . . . . .	100.00
Boston.	Mrs. Paige, certificates of membership . . . . .	1,233.50
Worcester.	Mrs. John Davis . . . . .	1,219.08
Salem.	Mrs. F. Peabody and Mrs. G. Peabody . . . . .	1,109.18
Medford.	Mrs. Angier and Mrs. Hall . . . . .	606.00
New Bedford.	Mrs. W. T. Russell, Mrs. Colby . . . . .	560.00
Boston.	Mrs. Hale, Printing office and table . . . . .	556.00
„	Miss Walter, Post-office . . . . .	552.25
„	Mrs. Fearing, Mrs. Emmons, Mrs. Chapman, Miss	
	Putnam . . . . .	541.93
Taunton.	Table and Fate Lady . . . . .	512.00
Boston.	Mrs. Frothingham and Mrs. Howe . . . . .	505.00
„	Mrs. Jos. Hall . . . . .	435.00
Roxbury.	Mrs. Lang . . . . .	411.56
Nantucket.	Mrs. Tuck . . . . .	400.42½
	Piano-forte, presented by Chickering and Mackay . . . . .	400.00
Boston.	Mrs. Horton, confectionery . . . . .	381.35
Norwich, Conn.	Mrs. Rockwell . . . . .	368.25
Boston.	Mrs. Loring, confectionery . . . . .	362.02
Boston.	Mrs. Darracott and Mrs. Clark . . . . .	340.00
Old Cambridge.	Miss Davis . . . . .	337.50
Jamaica Plain.	Mrs. Prince . . . . .	325.12½
Waltham.	Mrs. Hobbs . . . . .	300.00
Boston.	Mrs. Turner . . . . .	300.00
Lowell	. . . . .	282.00½
Boston.	Mrs. Wheelwright and Miss Russell . . . . .	277.12½
„	Mrs. Prentice . . . . .	275.00
„	Mrs. E. H. Derby . . . . .	272.62
Malden.	Mrs. Noyes . . . . .	271.78
		<hr/>
		\$18,949.88

Amount brought forward . . . . .	\$18,949.88	
Northampton . . . . .	261.58½	
Cambridgeport . . . . .	250.00	
Lynn. Mrs. Barker . . . . .	209.86½	
Boston. Mrs. Greene . . . . .	201.00	
„ Mrs. Bradlee and Miss Wentworth . . . . .	200.00	
„ Mrs. Beals . . . . .	182.00	
Beverley. Mrs. Lovett . . . . .	166.87½	
East Cambridge. Mrs. Wadsworth . . . . .	150.00	
Boston. Mrs. Gardiner and Miss Snelling (confectionery) . . . . .	126.04	
„ Mrs. Parker and Miss Francis, books . . . . .	114.93	
„ Mrs. Kendall and Mrs. A. Dexter . . . . .	100.00	
„ Mrs. Ewer and Miss Dorr . . . . .	100.00	
Female Orphan Asylum . . . . .	100.00	
Books of Charades (sold since the Fair), written and presented by Mrs. Gould and Sisters . . . . .	50.00	
Jennie Deans, made and exhibited by Mrs. Riddell, New Bedford . . . . .	50.00	
Received previous to Fair from towns and individuals . . . . .	376.00	
„ during „ „ societies and individuals . . . . .	1,531.22	
„ from sale of tickets of admission . . . . .	9,885.34	
„ „ picture presented by Miss Martha Robbins, sold by Miss Putnam . . . . .	25.00	
„ „ articles since the Fair . . . . .	37.25	
		\$33,066.98½
Expended since the Fair towards purchasing tables \$230.00		
„ for books, toys, medals, and engravings distributed to all the tables . . . . .	498.20	
„ for the Fair, viz. :—		
Cleansing and repairing Hall . . . . .	21.41	
Boards and joists . . . . .	446.80	
Paintings and decorations . . . . .	449.23	
Drayage and portorage . . . . .	12.53	
Furniture . . . . .	16.28	
Lighting . . . . .	177.03	
Police and watch . . . . .	294.50	
Attendants . . . . .	122.24	
Printing and stationery . . . . .	64.50	
Advertising . . . . .	67.95	
Carriage hire . . . . .	10.50	
Music . . . . .	273.00	
Ladies' Refreshment Room . . . . .	324.42	
Discount on foreign money and counterfeit . . . . .	22.86½	\$3,031.45½
		\$30,035.53

It would appear by the following letter from the artist Sully to a lady of Charlestown that his picture he intended for her to place at the Charlestown table: —

MISS CAROLINE ETHERIDGE.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — While deliberating to whom I should consign a picture, I had made up my mind to present to the Bunker Hill Monument Fair, Sally informed me that you had taken an active interest in that praiseworthy business. I gladly, therefore, send the picture to you, that it may be presented, in the way you think fit, to the intended Fair. It is a copy from Rembrandt's Peasant Girl, and is valued at \$150.

Very sincerely your friend,

THOS. SULLY.

MISS CAROLINE ETHERIDGE, *care of the Executive Committee of the Fair, for the benefit of the Bunker Hill Monument, Boston, Mass.*

Miss Mary Otis, the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Fair, paid over to Mr. Russell, the Treasurer of the Association, \$30,035.53, — a larger sum by far than had ever before been realized in the country by any similar efforts. In connection with Miss Otis' report, the Ladies' Committee say: —

That this report has been delayed to a period, which has seemed to many to be unreasonably long, will hardly surprise those who consider that it could not be given till returns had been made from forty-three tables; and that many of these were kept back for the purpose of making sale of articles which remained after the Fair, and thus adding to the amount. It was necessary also that time should be given for all bills to be collected and paid.

The ladies who were appointed to superintend the concerns of the Fair are unwilling to perform this last duty in its service, without acknowledgment to those, by whose kindness

and liberality it was made successful. This acknowledgment must be general, because they to whom it is due are so many. It was a public object, and generously did the public carry it through.

While recording the list of towns that came so cordially and effectually to our aid by their tables in the Hall, we do not forget the many other places, from the ladies of which contributions more or less considerable were received. And this co-operation of so many out of our city, of some out of our State, and even beyond the limits of New England, showed a spirit to be abroad that might well animate and encourage us. And indeed the interchange of kind feelings among the many brought from distant places, to act together for a short time in a common cause, is not the least pleasant of the results and recollections of the Fair.

To particularize the individuals, to whom acknowledgments might justly be made, would lead to details so long, and to publicity in many cases so unwished for, that we can only include in one cordial offering of thanks all who contributed in whatever way, or in whatever proportion, to the success of the undertaking.

We may, however, be permitted to remark on the items in the treasurer's report of expenses attending the Fair, that these were smaller than could have been anticipated; that considerable deductions were given in from some of the bills; and especially that William Washburn, Esq., to whose taste and skill in planning and carrying into effect the accommodations and decorations of the Hall so much is due, declined receiving any compensation for his valuable services. This liberality will be best appreciated by those who were witnesses of his indefatigable exertions previously to the Fair, and during its continuance.

It is hoped that the gentlemen, Committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and others, to whose attendance and courtesy we are indebted, will not be unwilling to receive this slight notice of the pleasure with which their services are remembered. To say that nothing was omitted on their part,

which could lighten the care and make pleasant the task of the ladies engaged in the Fair, is but to echo the sentiments of all.

Having done what we could, it only remains for us to hope that our days may yet see the completion of a Monument, which shall stand to tell of our Fathers to coming generations.

CATHERINE G. PRESCOTT,  
SARAH J. HALE,  
LUCINDA CHAPMAN,  
SUSAN P. WARREN,  
SARAH DARRACOTT,  
ABBY L. WALES,  
*Executive Committee.*

BOSTON, Nov. 1840.

At a meeting of the Directors held November 19, 1840, the above reports having been read, it was thereupon

*Voted* unanimously, That the same be accepted, entered at large upon the records of the Corporation, and published in the papers. Also, that Mr. David Francis be appointed a Committee to cause the same to be printed in an appropriate form for distribution.

The following Resolutions, presented by the President, were unanimously accepted, and ordered to be printed with the above reports:—

*Whereas* this Board of Directors, through the agency of a Committee appointed at a meeting on the 25th of June last, invited the women of our country to aid this Association in collecting a fund sufficient to complete the unfinished Monument on Bunker Hill; and having been witnesses of the cheerfulness and alacrity with which the ladies of Boston and various other places responded to that invitation, and of the enthusiasm, industry, ingenuity, and untiring activity, manifested by them in the prosecution of the design of a Fair

at Quincy Hall, as one of the most successful means of securing the object in view ; and having received from a Committee of those ladies a communication by which it appears that the proceeds of that Fair, amounting to thirty thousand and thirty-five dollars, fifty-three cents, have been paid over to the treasurer of the Association, as a contribution to the Monument Fund :

*It is therefore Resolved*, That the thanks of this Association be presented to our countrywomen, to each, and to all, who have united in collecting this contribution, and thus enabled the Directors to contract for the completion of the Monument.

*Resolved*, That while, as Directors of a corporate body, we thus in a formal manner express our gratitude, we cannot withhold the declaration, that in our opinion all those who are living in the enjoyment of the blessings of a free government, and of its civil, literary, and religious institutions, — all who cherish the sentiments of the heroes and patriots of the Revolution, — all who reverence the memories of those that suffered in defence of the principles of liberty, — all, in fine, who admire patriotism in its most attractive form, and love virtue in its holiest and most beautiful manifestation, — will admire, will applaud, and will reverence the deed herein recorded, the motive by which it was dictated, and the agents by whom it was accomplished.

*Resolved*, That this Board will procure or cause to be written a Memoir of the Fair, its origin, progress, and result, to be placed on the records of the Corporation.

Mr. Francis, one of the Directors, gratuitously printed in handsome style a large number of circulars embracing the foregoing reports, which were freely distributed.

At a meeting of the Directors January 14, 1841, Mr. Russell, the Treasurer, presented the following: —



7

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Boston, October 15, 1840.

Amos Lawrence, Esq.

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of yesterday, enclosing the Munificent Donation of Ten thousand dollars, for the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and shall immediately communicate the same to the Board of Directors of the Institution.

With sincere respect, I remain

Your obt. servt.

Wm. P. Russell, Treasurer.

*Abstract of Donations to the Bunker Hill Monument Association,  
since June 17, 1840.*

Ladies of Greenfield . . . . .	\$50.00	
Operatives of Worsted Factory, Framingham . .	36.12	
Clark and Hatch, Auctioneers . . . . .	50.00	
Israel Munson . . . . .	200.00	
James Phalen, New York . . . . .	100.00	
Abel Willard, omnibus proprietor, Cambridge .	60.00	
Friend . . . . .	5.00	
Amos Lawrence . . . . .	10,000.00	
Ladies' Fair . . . . .	30,035.53	
Thos. B. Wales, Wm. W. Stone, and N. T. Bow-		
ditch, Trustees . . . . .	1,500.00	
John C. Gray . . . . .	150.00	
Francis C. Gray . . . . .	150.00	
G. Washington Warren . . . . .	200.00	
Boston Academy of Music . . . . .	40.00	
Fanny Elssler . . . . .	569.50	
Boston Musical Institute . . . . .	40.00	
J. Ingersoll Bowditch . . . . .	20.00	
From Philadelphia, per Daniel McGregor . . .	794.14	
A. L. Forestier, per Benjamin T. Reed . . . .	987.63	
John Bryant . . . . .	150.00	
Ebenr. Breed, for visitors to the Monument . .	15.35	
Judah Touro by William Appleton . . . . .	10,000.00	\$55,153.27
From which there has been paid, viz.:—		
Debt to Amos Lawrence, in full . . . . .	7,563.73	
Rent of Quincy Hall for Ladies' Fair . . . .	400.00	7,963.73
		<hr/>
		\$17,189.54

At this meeting the following Resolutions prepared by the President were unanimously adopted:—

- Resolved*, That the Directors receive the contribution of Mr. Touro with sentiments of deep and grateful respect, considering it as a testimonial of his regard for the principles, and the contest for which and its successful issue the Monument is intended to commemorate, and his affectionate recollection of the friends of his youth and the place of his early residence.
- Resolved*, That John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Joseph Story, Edward Everett, and Franklin Dexter be

appointed a Committee to prepare an inscription for a tablet to be placed in the Monument stating the object for which it is erected, and recording the liberality of Judah Touro and Amos Lawrence, and the successful exertions of the daughters of those patriots whose memories we would perpetuate, — donations and labor which have placed in the possession of the Directors a fund sufficient to complete this memorial of one of the most important events in the history of our country.

Of those noble women who by their timely appeal and patriotic sympathy averted the continued disgrace of the unfinished Monument, the greater number have passed on to their eternal reward, but they have left upon earth a record of their service and zeal for the public good which history can never forget. Of the few who still survive, Mrs. Hale, for many years past a resident of Philadelphia, has, during her protracted life, constantly employed her vigorous pen for the elevation of her sex, and for the promotion of a laudable national sentiment. For thirty years in Godey's Lady's Book, under her editorship, she has pleaded for the establishment of a National Thanksgiving to be observed every year on the last Thursday of November, that being the day that was selected by President Washington in 1789, when he was requested by a joint Committee of both Houses of the first Congress to set apart a day by Proclamation "as a day of public Thanksgiving and Prayer." In that original model Proclamation Washington referred to this country having become "a Nation," and also to our "National Government," our "National transgressions," and our "National duties." If such a proclamation had been

issued every year by Washington and his successors in the presidential office, it never would have been forgotten anywhere that the United States was indeed a nation. National Fasts, also, have been occasionally proclaimed by different Presidents in times of threatened disaster, as on account of the prevalence of the Asiatic cholera, and by President Buchanan in 1860, before the outbreak. By a correspondence with the Governors of all the States in 1859, Mrs. Hale was instrumental in persuading them to appoint the last Thursday in November of that year for a State Thanksgiving. By similar efforts, a national Thanksgiving was proclaimed by President Lincoln in 1863, and in every succeeding year by the President for the time being. She has urged and still urges Congress to pass a Joint Resolution, recommending the annual observance of the last Thursday of November as the day of National Thanksgiving, so that it may never be overlooked by any President.

Prompted by a kindred sentiment of patriotism, Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis of Boston, — who assisted in the Monument Fair, and subsequently in a Fair held for the purchase of Mount Vernon, — by her personal influence, and by her example in throwing open to the public her hospitable mansion invariably upon the anniversary of Washington's birthday, induced the Legislature of Massachusetts to make the twenty-second day of February a legal holiday throughout the Commonwealth. It remains for Congress and the President, by recognizing these two days as national

holidays, to perpetuate those sentiments of fraternal concord and love of country, which it was the design of the builders of the Bunker Hill Monument to kindle and inspire.

The opportune aid of the women in finishing the upper half of the Monument at a time when the men despaired of seeing it done in their generation will often be referred to as an illustration of what they may yet do in aiding to form and complete the lofty ideal of a true Republic. In all ages and countries there have been exceptional cases of women being rulers, or adepts in diplomacy and leadership, as skilled in science and art, or as signal examples of heroism, magnanimity, or beneficence. But here, where the doors of knowledge and literature are equally open to them, where the field of action is almost only self-limited, their power of good to the body-politic is immense. May the women of the country — without whom indeed there would be no country — aim to elevate Public Sentiment, which is the ultimate and supreme ruler, and to set up a high standard of virtue, self-denial, and right-living, so that the nation, under their refined influence, and guided by the teachings of the Saviour of mankind, may become the resplendent Light of the World!





"THIS COLUMN STANDS ON UNION"





#### CHAPTER XIV.

Survey this wide-spread land,  
And tell us where on earth  
There can be found a better band,  
Of more ennobling birth,  
Than they who breathe this liberal air,  
And all these glorious blessings share.

**J**OSEPH TINKER BUCKINGHAM, the seventh gentleman elected to the office of President of the Association, had the peculiar pleasure of witnessing during his term the completion of the great work. He was born in Windham, Connecticut, December 21, 1779. In his fourth year, his father, a Revolutionary soldier, died, leaving no estate; and he was obliged in early youth to work upon a farm. At the age of sixteen he entered a printing office, — the college of such men as he, of the Franklin type, — where he too obtained his education and livelihood. In his twenty-first year he came to Boston, soon rose to be a leader of the editorial corps, and was surpassed by no one as a writer of pure and terse English. As a critic, magazine-writer, and author, he had excellent qualities. He was thoroughly American in politics, and a genuine hater of every form of cockneyism and shams. He ably served the State in both branches of the Legislature, and was President of the Agricultural Society of Middlesex County, and also

of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, of whose annals he published a very interesting and valuable memoir. It was during his presidency of the Mechanic Association, and under his special influence, that the effort of that society was made for the monument.

A few weeks after the elevation of the cap-stone, it occurred to the Secretary that Mr. Webster should be invited to deliver an address on the succeeding anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, and he proposed to President Buckingham to call with him on Mr. Webster, who was then in Boston. The great statesman was, as it were, under a political cloud, because he had, in the judgment of the leaders of the Whig party, though not in his own, overstaid his time in the cabinet of President Tyler; besides, his speech in Faneuil Hall a short time before had given great offence. So Boston was rather cold to him, as compared with his reception in former times. Under these circumstances the call was made. There was a hearty greeting and welcome. After a few words, Mr. Buckingham said: "I suppose you are aware, Mr. Webster, that the Bunker Hill Monument is finished?" "Yes," he replied, "and I hope it fully meets the expectation of the founders of the Association." Mr. Buckingham continued: "It has occurred to us, sir, that it might be desirable to commemorate the event on our next anniversary, — that is, if you would give the oration. We, however, are not authorized to speak on this subject, as it has not been yet before the Directors. We come to get your private opinion."

Mr. Webster's luminous eyes kindled at the suggestion, and he promptly replied: "I do not desire that any thing I may say should influence you or the Directors; but this I am prepared to say now, that, if the Directors should desire to have a celebration, and I should be asked to deliver the oration, I shall certainly accept."

He did not inquire, nor seem to care, whether Concord would have a rival celebration on the previous 19th April. On the 24th September, the Directors determined to have a public celebration; and the President, Secretary, and Dr. John C. Warren were appointed a Committee of Arrangements, with full powers, and with authority to add to their number, not exceeding six. William Appleton, William W. Stone, Edward Brooks, Charles Wells, George Daracott, and Charles G. Greene were afterward joined by the original committee; and these nine made all the arrangements for that most successful celebration of June 17, 1843.

The President of the United States, and all his cabinet, and all the Governors of the different States, were specially invited, as it was desired to give to the celebration a national and imposing character. Indications of the people's interest in the event and a desire to participate in it were manifested from every part of the country. The facilities of travel had wonderfully increased by the construction of railroads, so that a great multitude could repair here and return home with far greater ease than in 1825. General Samuel Chandler was the chief marshal of the pro-

cession; and his arrangements were complete, and well carried out.

On the 16th June, 1843, President Tyler and his cabinet made their public entry in Boston, during a most violent rain-storm, escorted by the Boston regiment, under the command of Colonel George T. Bigelow. The city had provided quarters for the presidential party at the Tremont House, where, soon after their arrival, they received the calls of the Committee of the City Government, the judges, and other official personages. Great apprehension was felt as to the weather of the 17th, and what should be done if the storm should continue; but, happily, it was a clear Bunker-Hill day. The 17th fell on Saturday, — the same day of the week on which the battle occurred. In addition to the volunteer troops of the State, there were two regiments from New York and one from New Hampshire.

Early in the morning the invited guests, Committee of Arrangements, Governor Marcus Morton, the legislative and executive departments of the government, Mayor Brimmer and the City Council of Boston, met in the State House, the President and party having been escorted thither from their hotel by the Lancers. There were present thirteen surviving soldiers of the battle of Bunker Hill, and ninety-five others who were in some of the battles of the Revolution. Two hours were agreeably spent in receptions and brief addresses of welcome.

Meanwhile, Boston Common and all the avenues

enclosing or leading to it were alive with the movement of troops and of the different bodies of the procession, each taking its assigned post in perfect order. Major-General Appleton Howe had the command of the whole military escort, Colonel Eben W. Stone being his chief of staff. Generals Nettleton, Dunham, and Dana were the brigade commanders. The Masonic Fraternity, having been specially invited, appeared in full numbers and regalia. The Association and various kindred societies, other organizations, Harvard College, Andover Seminary, and other literary institutions, and delegations from all parts of the country, had their different places, and were generally decorated with the badge of the day.

Precisely at eleven o'clock, — at the moment of the time appointed by General Chandler, the promptest of marshals, — the procession moved forward. The streets on the route were completely decorated, and all the windows, and all the standpoints from which there was a view, were filled with delighted spectators. Cheers by the men and the waving of handkerchiefs by the women gave enthusiastic greetings to the President and other guests, to the Revolutionary soldiers, and also to the different bodies on foot, as they moved along, keeping step to the music of the Union, which was most eloquently discoursed by over thirty bands. Such a procession, in honor of a great event, and on a great anniversary, to which the masses of all orders of society flock together, animated by the same sympathetic feeling of patriotic enthusiasm, is most impressive. It means something more

than an idle pageant: it teaches a lesson never to be forgotten by those who witness or who are present in it.

More than two hundred policemen accompanied the procession, making way, and keeping back the dense masses where necessary. A majority of these officers had been also appointed by the authorities of Charlestown and sworn in as special officers of that town for the day, — a measure which will not again be required, as fortunately Bunker Hill has been since made part of the metropolis. The crowds kept back at their simple bidding, and compressed themselves to their utmost possibility with good-humored patience. Mr. Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy, at the dinner in Faneuil Hall, spoke of the admirable behavior and decorum of the multitude with the highest encomium. In point of fact, it was remarked that not a single commitment was made during the day.

In a little over three hours from the time of starting, the head of the procession reached the enclosure prepared for the public services. The pavilion for the orator and invited guests was located about two hundred feet north of the northerly slope of Monument Square, from which was a fine view of Mystic River. On this slope, seats were arranged one above another for ladies, which were by this time filled; those ladies who had served at the Monument Fair having the most conspicuous places. Mr. James W. Paige, as chief marshal of the ground, had charge of the enclosure. Between the stage and the ladies' seats, there was a gradual ascent, as there was also from the top

of the slope within the square towards the Monument. When this large space was filled by the procession and the crowd which followed it, the effect was gorgeous: no tongue or pen can adequately describe it.

For the opening service a fervent prayer was made by Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, during which the whole assembly of men stood uncovered. President Buckingham then presented the orator to the audience. Mr. Webster's majestic figure, as soon as seen, was greeted with long and reverberating cheers. He looked remarkably well. Some incidents were wanting to this occasion which marked that of 1825, especially the presence of Lafayette, the novelty of the scene, and the comparative freshness of the theme. On the other hand, there stood before the orator the completed monument, — the fruition of an expectation long delayed, the consummation of the people's pride in the finished work. Down at its base, the hushed mass of humanity seemed like the smooth waves of the tranquil sea.

Then, again, the further the Battle of Bunker Hill recedes into the distant past, the greater the event appears, as its consequences are everywhere still more and more developed.

Webster felt all this, and kindled with enthusiasm. He briefly referred to the efforts of the Association, and congratulated them that a duty at last had been performed. Referring to the origin of the nation's independence, he proceeded at length to show how our fathers brought with them the Bible and the

literature and the free institutions of the Old World, escaping from local customs and fetters, and had planted in the virgin soil of the new continent the principles of a representative government.

As he contrasted the principles on which our government was founded with those on which the ephemeral governments of South America were set up, he said: "I would that the fifty thousand voices present could proclaim it with a shout which should be heard over the globe." The clear, sonorous sound of his voice reverberated from the Monument, and the words came back in distinct echo, "over the globe." Then those voices gave in response a cheer loud enough to have drowned the cry and noise of battle, which was made there sixty-eight years before. In conclusion, he showed that the United States had repaid its great obligation to the fatherland by the impulse to progress, and by the example of the character of Washington, and of the success of our Republic.

As an illustration of the effect which this address produced, Dr. John C. Warren, who had observed to his associates on the Committee as he rode over in the procession that Mr. Webster, however grand, could not possibly come up to his address in 1825, for then he was in his prime, declared on the return, with great delight, "Webster has surpassed himself!"

While these exercises were going on, the whole military escort was withdrawn to a convenient resting-place, where all the troops were served bountifully



with rations under the charge of Colonel Stone. The line was re-formed when the exercises were over, and the procession returned in the same order in which it came. Mr. Webster was not in the procession in the morning, desiring that nothing should divert or interrupt the respect that should be given to the President of the United States. But, as he appeared in his place in the return, there was one loud continuous cheering for him from Bunker Hill to the State House, — a remarkable instance of the great popular applause bestowed upon pre-eminent ability over even the highest official position.

After a brief respite at the State House, the invited guests and subscribers to the dinner were formed in procession by George W. Gordon, Esq., Chief Marshal, and were escorted to Faneuil Hall by the City Greys, commanded by Captain Newell A. Thompson. The Hall was splendidly decorated. Mr. Buckingham presided at the feast with great dignity and good-humor. He was supported by twenty-nine Vice-Presidents, who were officers of the Association. Grace was said by the Chaplain, Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis. After the feast of the viands, the feast of reason began. The first toast was, —

*“The Battle of Bunker Hill, — Freedom fell, but Liberty triumphed.”*

In response, the whole company standing sang the following stanzas to the tune of “Old Hundred :” —

O God, yon pile shall mark, for aye,  
The ground whereon our fathers fell,  
The self-devoted of their day,  
The beauty of their Israel.

And while the winds shall o'er it sweep,  
Thy thunders break around its head,  
Those Martyrs there in peace shall sleep,  
For Thou, O God, shalt guard their bed.

The second regular toast was, —

“ *The Monument*, — The proud Memorial of a defeat, glorious to the vanquished, and of a victory, fatal to the conquerors.”

This was followed by an original song, composed by Henry T. Tuckerman, adapted to the air of “Sparkling and Bright,” and sung by a select choir.

The third toast was responded to by the Band, playing “Hail Columbia.”

“ *The principles of the Revolutionary Struggle*, — A love of liberty, protected and regulated by law, and a dread of anarchy not less strong than hatred of oppression. He that looks for the origin of those principles must look above the summit of the Monument which commemorates their triumph.”

By this time the company were fully prepared for the toast which is always rapturously received, because it speaks to the national heart: “The President of the United States.” After nine hearty cheers, President Tyler briefly thanked the company for the flattering notice of him, and gave: —

“ *The Union*, — Union of purpose — Union of feeling — the Union established by our fathers.”

After the band had given “Yankee Doodle” with full stress, the next toast was announced: —

“ *The Orator of the Day*, — If we would find his equal in eloquence and patriotism, we must be permitted to exercise liberally the right which he has refused to the most powerful nation on earth, — **THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.**”

Had the toast been simply The Orator of the day, it would have kindled great enthusiasm, but coupling with it Mr. Webster's recent triumph in his letter to Lord Ashburton, repudiating for his country henceforth and for ever the right of search on behalf of Great Britain, the old cradle of Liberty seemed to rock with the vociferous cheers and cries which were spontaneously uttered. As soon as the joyous tumult had subsided, Mr. Webster briefly returned his acknowledgments, and gave:—

*"The rights of Commerce, — Everywhere to be protected at any expense of blood and treasure."*

George Ticknor Curtis, Esq., being called upon by the chair, made an eloquent speech upon the heroes and the heroic services of South Carolina during the Revolution, and gave:—

*"South Carolina and Massachusetts, — Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution, laying up for each other treasures of glory. The sons never will divide the great inheritance."*

Hugh S. Legaré, the acting Secretary of State, in whose honor this sentiment was given, was prevented by a sudden and fatal illness from being present. John C. Spencer, the Secretary of the Treasury, in responding to a call made upon him, gave a sentiment in honor of the Ladies of New England. James M. Porter the Secretary of War in like manner gave a sentiment in honor of the Pilgrim Fathers.

The President then called for the next toast upon George Bancroft, Esq., who had been appointed by the Committee the substitute orator of the day, in

case of the failure of Mr. Webster. He spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — When Massachusetts recalls her days of trial, her heart throbs with gratitude for VIRGINIA. The blood of Virginians did not wet the soil of Bunker Hill; but the spirit of the Ancient Dominion had gone before, guiding by its light, and cheering by its sympathy.

When the passage of the Stamp Act roused the genius of American freedom to that contest between liberty and power, which has, this day, so forcibly been illustrated in the presence of myriads of hearers, it was while the Virginians were musing that the fire first burned; it was Virginia that gave the example of resistance, and the words of Patrick Henry rung through the land like the voice of a trumpet.

When the Representatives of Massachusetts stood forth to deny altogether the dominion of the British Parliament, it was Virginia that leaned forward to share the danger and invite a correspondence.

When the Boston Port Bill closed our harbor, and the ships that should be the swift messengers of New England's industry lay chained to the useless wharfs, and the hammer of the shipwright was silent, and the laborer went to and fro in the streets unemployed, all Virginia demanded to esteem the sufferers here as members of her own household; and, to take but one example, the people of the remote Augusta country, 120 miles at least from a navigable river, made their way over rocks and streams and ranges of hills, with no roads but the roughest, and thus carted, or dragged, or rolled, to tide-water, more than a hundred barrels of flour, their gift to the poor of Boston.

When, at the cry from Lexington and Concord, New England rose in arms, and abandoned its metropolis only to lay siege to its enemies that were encamped there, Virginia sent for our defence the most expert of her riflemen, bravest among the brave.

When to remove invasion by attack, it was resolved to scale the mountains that divide us from Quebec, Virginians were

among the boldest to climb the highlands of Maine; and the waters of the Kennebec and the Chaudière, as long as they flow, will tell the story of their daring.

And greatest benefit of all! When Boston was to be recovered, it was a son of Virginia who took the command of our armies, and conducted successfully the most extraordinary siege in the annals of human warfare; and WASHINGTON, most blessed among warriors, wisest of heroes, peerless among men, as he led back our exiled families to their homes, saw around him not one whom his ambition had bereaved of a husband or a son; and, as he made his triumphant entry into the town which he had delivered, beheld himself thrice happy in a bloodless victory. I will give you, sir,

*“Virginia and Massachusetts, — Their names are blended inseparably in the record of their country’s glory: their sons will ever cherish the freedom and the Union established by their fathers.”*

Mr. Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy, rose to respond, amidst enthusiastic applause. He said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — We are all assembled upon a very interesting occasion; we are all — those of us who are strangers — enjoying the kind hospitalities of the citizens of Boston; and it becomes the duty of some one of the Virginians present to respond to the call upon his native State. In responding to your call, — your association of Massachusetts and Virginia, — where shall I begin? Topics rush upon the mind so rapidly, each so strongly appealing for notice and utterance, that the tongue is confused and the power of recollection lost. But, indeed, why should I attempt to recall to Massachusetts minds those topics? It is a part of every Massachusetts man’s education to know of the Revolutionary exertions of the different States, and of the ties which bound them together. Every school-boy in New England, with his satchel on his back, can tell of Lexington and Bunker Hill, of Trenton and Yorktown.

Every one in Massachusetts knows all this, and I hope I may say that, in my own State, our children learn to lisp those hallowed names at their mothers' knees. And, sir, though it was Virginia's fortune to furnish to the American army a leader whose peer the world never saw; though in all creation there has been but one Washington, and never will be another; and though he was wholly of Virginia, — yet we are not selfish! His fame is bright enough to cast a lustre over the whole land. We can share it freely with all our countrymen, and all shall have enough.

But, sir, engrossing as is that name, — and, as I hope, without a violation of modesty I may say, brilliant as are many other names belonging to Virginia, — their glory belongs not to us alone. In looking back to the events of the Revolution, who is there that can separate Virginia from Massachusetts? Who can fail to couple the Old Dominion with *this* noble Commonwealth? Would, sir, would that Virginia were here to-day to respond, as she would respond, to the greeting of Massachusetts; but venturing, incompetent as I am so to do, to represent her embodied spirit, in her name I say to Massachusetts, — as she would say, were she here, — Hail, hail to thee, O my sister!

After expressing at length his great admiration of the scenes he had witnessed, and of the order exhibited by the great crowd which had gathered together, he gave: —

“ *Massachusetts*, — Foremost in the conflict by which our liberties were won, and foremost to show us what our liberties are, when won.”

In answer to a toast complimentary to the State of Kentucky, Charles A. Wickliffe, Postmaster-General, concluded his speech as follows: “ But, gentlemen, we are here in this hall, the cradle of liberty, and, if I mistake not the history of the times, there is, not far distant, a church called the OLD SOUTH. I will give: ”—

*"The Citizens of Boston, — They feast as freemen in halls once desecrated by hostile armies, and in that church, where once fed the warrior's steed, they worship the living God in peace and safety."*

The President of the United States, Cabinet, and suite, here left the hall, being greeted on their exit by loud cheers, the whole company standing. Caleb Cushing, who had been but recently appointed as Minister to China, being called up by an appropriate toast, spoke eloquently upon the advantages of peace, and gave: —

*"The triumphs of Peace, — More renowned than those of War."*

George S. Hillard, Esq., being announced by the chair, pronounced an eloquent and classic eulogium upon Edward Everett, then the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at London, and closed with the following: —

*"The Hon. Edward Everett, — Who has shown to the world the power and the grace which eloquence borrows from free institutions, and that the fire of genius never burns so brightly as when laid upon the altar of patriotism."*

As a response to his sentiment, the President requested the Chief Marshal to read the following letter from Mr. Everett: —

LONDON, 18th May, 1843.

To J. T. BUCKINGHAM, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR, — A pressure of business puts it out of my power to express to you, as fully as I should wish, the satisfaction I feel that you are so soon to celebrate the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument. I congratulate you and all the other public-spirited friends of this patriotic work, on the happy termination of your labors. I look backward with

pleasure on the humble share it was my own good fortune to take in the earlier efforts to accomplish this object; and though absent and distant from you, on this auspicious occasion, I assure you I shall be present with you in imagination.

It is now ten years, within a few days, since I uttered in Faneuil Hall, before a public meeting at which I think you presided (as you have at so many others held for the same good cause), the confident words that "*I was sure the work would be done.*" I rested that assurance on my belief that the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, not prone to leave a job half completed, having undertaken to finish it, would persevere in the enterprise till the cap-stone was carried up. I am much obliged to them for saving my reputation as a prophet.

I beg leave to offer you the sentiment which you will find below, and with it for yourself and my fellow-citizens, who may be assembled on the occasion, the assurance of the kind remembrance and cordial good wishes of

Your friend and associate,

EDWARD EVERETT.

"*The Bunker Hill Monument*,— While we rear this noble pile to the memory of our fathers, may our own principles and conduct be such as to cause our names to be cherished with theirs by posterity, and make our beloved country the object of respect with the friends of liberty throughout the world."

A letter from Governor Marcus Morton, who was suffering from indisposition, was read. The two great benefactors of the Association were remembered by the following:—

Amos and Judah, venerated names,  
Patriarch and Prophet press their equal claims,  
Like generous coursers, running "neck and neck,"  
Each aids the work by giving it a *check*.  
Christian and Jew, they carry out one plan,  
For, though of different faith, each is in heart a MAN.



Mr. Buckingham, on retiring from the chair, gave: —

*“ The Seventeenth of June, 1775, — The day when the flame of liberty flashed from a yeoman’s powder-horn, and the voice of freedom spoke from a rusty gun.”*

Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, one of the Vice-Presidents, in taking the chair, gave: —

*“ The health of the President of the day,”*

which was received with great applause. He next gave: —

*“ The Bunker Hill Monument, — It bears no inscription, and it needs none, since the lessons of patriotism it is designed to teach can be inscribed only upon the hearts of those who behold it.”*

Many other volunteer toasts were given, and songs were sung, and the patriotic festivities were prolonged to a late hour. The closing toast of the feast was given by Isaac Livermore, Esq., a Director, and it was loudly cheered: —

*“ England and the United States, — They have learned that two individuals can settle the differences between them better than two contending armies. May the amicable relations of the treaty of 1843 be as enduring as the memorial of the battle of the 17th June, 1775.”*

So the most distinguished dinner ever given in Faneuil Hall closed with a token of good-will to the mother country.

In the latter part of the evening, there was a brilliant reception at the residence of Mr. Paige, on Summer Street, which was connected with the adjoining house of Colonel Benjamin Loring, a patriotic

Director of the Association; and in the spacious drawing-rooms of the two houses the distinguished strangers and citizens, joining in the refined society of ladies, were hospitably entertained until well-nigh the Sabbath morn. Those houses, and those of Webster and Everett, in the same street, are all demolished; in a few years it will be hard for any one to believe that these men ever lived in that business street.

The open areas, on which the greater part of the people assembled to hear, at a long interval, Webster's two grand orations, are already covered with buildings. Nothing now remains on the old battlefield for public gatherings but Monument Square and the neighboring streets. The projected avenue from City Square to the Monument is now much needed; and its want will be more and more felt as time goes on, and the world's pilgrimage to the American Mecca is still increasing.

The city of Boston owns two historical paintings: one is in Faneuil Hall, by Healy, and represents Mr. Webster in the Senate of the United States, delivering that far-famed speech in defence of Massachusetts, in answer to an able speech by Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, and in which he proclaimed that memorable and ever-cherished motto, "Liberty and Union one and inseparable;" the other is in the Charlestown branch of the City Library, and was painted by Pope soon after Mr. Webster's decease, as a memorial of him; this represents him delivering this last address, with the Monument and audience in front, and at the

point of saying, as he turns to President Tyler, among the distinguished men on the platform, with his hand stretching forward, "This column stands on UNION."

Whatever triumphs that wonderful man achieved, — and no one enjoyed more or greater, — whether in the forum, in the Senate, in the popular assembly, or, by the statesman's pen, in the Department of State, he will be best known and appreciated in after times as the PATRIOT ORATOR, and, AS SUCH, his great name, identified with Bunker Hill Monument, will be transmitted with it to the advancing centuries of the Republic.

This magnificent demonstration was unhappily followed by two mournful events. Hugh S. Legaré, of South Carolina, who was Attorney-General, and also Secretary of State *ad interim*, in place of Mr. Webster, resigned, and who had come on to attend this august occasion, died, after a sudden illness of four days, in the house of his friend, George Ticknor, where he received the kindest and most hospitable attention. Before leaving Washington, he had sent the following letter, anticipating the pleasure he was not permitted to enjoy: —

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1843.

SIR, — I had the honor duly to receive, but have hitherto been prevented from acknowledging, the letter by which you communicated to me the obliging invitation of the Committee of Arrangements for the Bunker Hill celebration. My official business will not permit me to accompany the President on his tour; but it is my purpose, if I can find the necessary leisure, to join him, on the 17th, at Boston and at Bunker Hill.

I need not assure you how honored I shall feel myself, in that event, by the civilities which the Committee has been so kind as to offer me, and that I am, with the highest consideration, Sir,

Their and your most obliged and most humble servant,

H. S. LEGARÉ.

G. WASHINGTON WARREN, Esq., &c.

Captain Josiah Cleveland came on from Oswego to New York to join in the celebration with his surviving comrades of the Revolutionary Army. He was the hero of that day. But the excitement was too much for him: he died in Charlestown, after a short illness, in his ninetieth year, and was buried from St. John's Church, where a funeral discourse was preached by the rector, Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Lambert, on Sunday, July 2. His remains were escorted by several military companies to Mount Auburn Cemetery, where he was buried, with military honors, in a lot purchased by Amos Lawrence. He enlisted from Connecticut, his native State, and, having commenced his service in the battle of Bunker Hill, continued it to the great day of Yorktown. He was personally known to Washington and to Lafayette, and was recognized by the latter at Bunker Hill on the fiftieth anniversary in 1825. Fortunate in the great incidents of his life, and in the *éclat* of his death, which, though far away from his kindred, took place in the midst of his fellow-countrymen, all bound to him by gratitude and love.

Many letters of regret were received from those who were invited, but were unable to participate in the celebration. Governor Fenner of Rhode Island

was the only Governor present from another State, and he was also present in 1825, as Governor. Governor Hammond of South Carolina regretted that, under the peculiar restriction which then existed in the constitution of his State, he could not leave it while in office. The British Consul in Boston was very desirous of attending; but he could not overcome the awkwardness of the situation, so he wrote this letter: —

BRITISH CONSULATE, BOSTON, June 14, 1843.

DEAR SIR, — I beg to thank you for your obliging letter, and, through you, the Committee of the Bunker Hill Association, for their invitation to join in the celebration on the 17th inst.

Under the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, I feel very sensibly the liberality of this invitation. It would have given me great pleasure, on personal accounts, to be with my colleagues of the Consular Corps in the place assigned to us in the ceremonies. But, on consideration, I think it better, for several reasons, that I should respectfully decline the honor intended to me by the Committee; and I have no doubt the gentlemen composing it will understand my motives, without requiring of me the somewhat difficult and always doubtful task of "defining my position."

Trusting to your kindness to make known my sentiments to the other members,

I am, dear sir, with much truth,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

T. C. GRATTAN.

G. WASHINGTON WARREN, Esq.

Had he faced the dilemma, and given in his appearance, the concluding toast of the feast would have received a still more hearty recognition. It remained

for His Royal Highness Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales, to break the ice, and go to Bunker Hill in the spirit of amity and good-will.

Isaac Livermore, Esq., had been added to the Committee, whose special duty it was to provide the "ways and means." He succeeded so well in obtaining subscriptions from public bodies and individuals, that only \$200 were drawn from the treasury on account of this Celebration.

The next duty that remained for the Association to perform was the fulfilment of the pledge given through Mr. Everett, when he was Secretary, to King Solomon's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, — that some trace of their former monument should be preserved. The matter was referred to the Building Committee, with full powers, who directed that permission be given to the Lodge to place a copy of their monument in the interior circle or newel, to face the entrance. The Lodge accepted the proposition. An exact copy of the Tuscan pillar, in Italian marble, was prepared; and extensive arrangements were made for its inauguration on June 24, 1845, by the Grand Lodge. The fraternity attended in large numbers. A brilliant Masonic procession — the first that had appeared in public in this State for fifteen years — was formed under Winslow Lewis, chief marshal, with Newell A. Thompson and Peter C. Jones as aides, and passed through the principal streets of Charlestown, which were lined with spectators, to the southerly side of the Monument, where the exercises took place. The

audience covered the southerly part of the square to High Street. After a prayer by Rev. Joseph O. Skinner, one of the grand chaplains, the venerable John Soley, as representing King Solomon's Lodge, in a firm voice and impressive manner addressed the Grand Master, Augustus Peabody, as follows: —

MOST WORSHIPFUL, — Half a century ago I had the honor of dedicating, in the name of King Solomon's Lodge, the first Monument erected on this spot to the memory of those brave men who here fell in the cause of American freedom ; and now, after a lapse of fifty years, I am, by the mercy of Divine Providence, spared to unite with a new generation, and, over the graves of our departed countrymen, to offer anew our heartfelt gratitude for their patriotic services, and to shed the tear of affectionate remembrance over their virtues. The story of our resistance to the regal mandates and oppressive requisitions of our maternal alliance has long since been spread upon the page of history, and deeply engraven upon the heart of every American.

The result of that resistance, under the guidance of Divine Wisdom and the sword of our illustrious Brother Washington, was our independence as a nation, and the establishment of our civil and religious privileges as a people. Let us, as American citizens, strive to merit a continuance of these inestimable blessings, and, forgetting the wrongs that are past, let us cultivate peace and kindred feeling with the family from whence we sprang, and be mutually inclined to promote the prosperity of each other so long as we continue members of the family of nations ; and to this end let us implore the Almighty Architect of the Universe to control that grasping ambition which is the bane of public and private virtue and the grave of national glory.

At the formation of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, King Solomon's Lodge transferred to that body the Monument they had erected, with the land belonging to the

same, upon condition that there should be placed within the walls of the Monument they were about to erect, a suitable memorial of the ancient pillar, in order to perpetuate that early patriotic act of the Masonic Fraternity. In carrying out this intention, a model of the original monument has been executed in marble, and placed on the spot intended for its location; and now, sir, I present you with these working tools, to enable you to examine its architectural proportions, and am ready to introduce you to the place of its deposit.

Grand Master Peabody made a very effective and spirited reply; and then proceeded, with the grand officers, to examine the new model, which had already been put in position, and to perform the ceremonial services. An original ode by Thomas Power was then sung; after which Charles B. Rogers, the Master of King Solomon's Lodge, introduced, as orator of the day, G. Washington Warren, who delivered the address, of which the following is an extract: —

In the ceremonies of this morning we do not seek to exhibit a vain spirit of ostentation. We wish fairly to discharge a duty which we owe to truth and to history. If gratitude for the performance of signal services be creditable to any age, it is all the more creditable the sooner it is testified after such services are rendered. If it were an achievement, honorable to our people, by means of a general association in 1825 to commence, and in 1843 to complete, a monument on Bunker Hill, commemorating the battle of the 17th June, 1775, it was certainly more honorable to a single Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons to pay the same tribute of respect in 1794, when the generation had not yet passed away who witnessed the memorable conflict. Time and national prosperity had not at that early period so richly unfolded the inestimable consequences of the long-continued series of struggles which was so brilliantly but terribly opened on this scene



of most deadly execution. The NAME of Bunker Hill had not then become so prevalent a rallying-word throughout our wide-spread land, nor was the PLACE itself visited so frequently as it now is daily by pilgrims from every clime. But the ancient members of KING SOLOMON'S LODGE, brought up at its feet and feeling to the full the generous emotions with which the contemplation of the place can never fail to inspire all true lovers of their country, thought they were doing but a simple act of duty in setting up a Pillar of their own to single out the spot, dear to them as inhabitants of Charlestown, as joint heirs with their fellow-countrymen in the blessed inheritance of civil and religious liberty, and still equally dear to them as members of an institution whose beloved chief had here shed his life-blood for the baptism of his country's freedom. And when, in the course of events, the whole community of a succeeding age were instigated, by their sense of justice as well as of gratitude, to offer in a similar but more enduring manner their homage of veneration to the men who here fought, bled, and died, it was noble in the Lodge to withdraw their rightful claim to the land, and to surrender the cherished work of their hands, to give place to another structure, which, in the sublimity of its conception and in the generality of its contributors, should utter forth a universal sentiment.

And how rightly, Brethren, our predecessors judged in deeming this field to be deserving of monumental distinction! Other places there are familiar and endeared to every American heart, — other fields which in the view of history and of distant ages will appear as classic, ay, holy ground, but here, where our fathers first met in the form of an organized army with the fixed resolution to oppose a foreign government, whose injustice they had not been able to dissuade and were then determined as a last resort with their arms to defeat; — here, where in battle array, and in sight, almost within reach, of the swift-spreading flames which were involving in a common destruction the dwellings and the sacred temple of worship of this devoted town, they gallantly resisted the skilful attacks

of an experienced European soldiery, and where they displayed that steadiness of nerve and daring courage which clearly demonstrated that on a fair trial, upon any thing like equal terms and with the just cause which they had, they would ever be victorious; — here, **HERE** is the spot, where, all the world over and in all time to come, the friends of Freedom will turn their glowing thoughts as to the prominent battle-ground of the American Revolution. Here flowed in copious streams the blood of the champions of American Liberty; here her principles first took deep root in the American soil; and here, at last, has a grateful posterity reared upon a foundation not to be disturbed a permanent Monument which shall for ever proclaim her triumph.

At the conclusion of these exercises, there was a dinner in a large tent spread out upon the then vacant lots on the easterly side of the square, at which addresses and toasts were given by Charles W. Moore, Grand Masters Peabody, and Joseph R. Chandler, of Pennsylvania, and several others.

Thus was completed the inauguration of the double monument, — the obelisk enclosing within its mighty embrace a marble copy of the beautiful Tuscan pillar which the first generation had set up on the mount of sacrifice.

The same Building Committee were continued in office for three years. A second contract was made with Mr. Savage, under which he held possession of the Monument, with the right to take the usual fees from visitors; and, for this privilege, he laid a granite walk ten feet wide on each side of the Monument, erected an iron fence on the outer line of the same, and also laid a

brick sidewalk on the streets upon the four sides of the square. The visitors' fees amounted to a much larger sum than the Committee had supposed possible. Mr. Savage retained the steam-engine that was used for hoisting stone for the purpose of raising a passenger-car to the top. The fee for those who ascended on foot was twelve and a half cents; for those who used the car, twenty cents. Undoubtedly Mr. Savage realized a large profit from this experiment.

The Committee, by their chairman, Charles Wells, say, in their report, made and adopted June 17, 1845: "From the commencement of Mr. Savage's contracts to the end, he has appeared desirous to give satisfaction, and to exert his best efforts for the fulfilment of his engagements; and your Committee believe that the work is faithfully and substantially done; that the materials used are equal to the samples referred to in the contracts for doing the work; and that, after an examination of the whole structure by the Directors, they will be satisfied with the work, accept the Monument, and authorize the President of the Association to accept the contracts." With regard to the Masonic monument, they say: "After mature deliberation, it was determined that, instead of placing a tablet with an inscription in the upper part of the Monument, as had been suggested by the Lodge and partially assented to by the Committee, leave was granted to erect a small marble monument in the hollow cone of the Bunker Hill Monument, on the ground floor, directly in front of the entrance door, — a location favorable for those who may visit the Monument, and

are unable from infirmity or age to ascend to its summit. To this proposition the Lodge has acceded. A marble monument — a *fac-simile* of the one originally erected by the Lodge — is now completed and placed in its destined position. There may it remain to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious dead, and a lasting memento of **BROTHERLY LOVE.**”

The Secretary, as one of the Committee on the Fair, raised a subscription of fifty-three hundred dollars towards erecting the iron fence to enclose Monument Square and the granite steps leading to it. The fence was planned by Isaiah Rogers, and erected by Charles M. Cummings. On July 3, 1844, the President, the Secretary, and Robert G. Shaw were appointed “a Committee with full powers to cause trees and shrubs to be set out on and around the square, and otherwise to improve and ornament the grounds in such manner as they may deem expedient.” There being no funds to meet these expenditures, the Secretary advanced the money required on the pledge by the Association of the receipts from the fees of visitors. The sum advanced amounted to about \$4,000.

At the annual meeting in 1847, Mr. Buckingham, declining re-election, G. Washington Warren was elected President, and Joseph H. Buckingham Secretary; and Mr. Buckingham, Sen., was elected a Director, and in 1855 was elected a Vice-President, which office he held till his decease in 1861. The change in these offices was the occasion of the passage of the following Resolutions: —

On motion of W. W. WHEILDON, Esq., it was,

*Resolved* unanimously, That the members of this Association do heartily reciprocate the sentiments expressed by the late President in his letter of this day declining a re-election, after twelve years' service, to the office which he has filled for so long a period with such ability and success.

That the thanks of this Association be presented to the Hon. JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM for the fidelity and unwearied zeal with which he has watched over its interests; and that the Association will ever hold his name in grateful remembrance, regarding him as one of the most efficient agents in the completion of this great commemorative structure, so honorable to our country, and so admirably designed to perpetuate the principles of the American Revolution.

*Resolved* unanimously, That the thanks of this Association be presented to G. WASHINGTON WARREN, Esq., for the faithful manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office as Secretary for eight years past; and particularly for his judicious and valuable services in superintending the laying out and improving of the grounds of the Association around the Monument.

This being the year of the organization of the city of Charlestown, there was a celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill by the city government, at which Rev. Starr King delivered the oration, and Paul Willard, Jr., a poem. Mr. A. W. Putnam, a grandson of General Israel Putnam, was present as an invited guest, and announced the intention to present to the Association a sword worn by the veteran hero in the Revolutionary war. This valuable memorial was subsequently received, with a letter authenticating it, both of which have been carefully preserved. The same year was marked by the visit of James K. Polk,

President of the United States, who was received on Monument Square, which was handsomely decorated. Mr. Warren, the Mayor, extended to the President a cordial welcome, in the presence of a large assembly, to which the President made a courteous reply.

Mr. Nathaniel P. Russell, the Treasurer, died July 3, 1848. He was present at the annual meeting, a little more than a fortnight before, and appeared somewhat enfeebled. He was undoubtedly conscious of his increasing infirmity, as he tendered the resignation of his office. But the Association would not listen to his proposal, and he was persuaded to withdraw it. At the annual meeting in 1849, his son, Samuel Hammond Russell, was elected to the office, and he has most acceptably filled his father's place to this time. Long may he live to perform for the Association the less arduous duty.

Seasonable arrangements were made by the Association in 1850 for the appropriate celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary. The President, Dr. Warren, William Appleton, William W. Wheildon, Henry N. Hooper, James W. Paige, and the Secretary, were appointed a committee, with full powers. Mr. Everett, who was then President of Harvard College, was invited to deliver the oration; and the President of the United States, his Cabinet, and other distinguished gentlemen of the country, as well as the Governor, the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, and other distinguished characters of

the State were invited to attend. At this point, the City Council of Charlestown proposed to unite with the Association; and, the proposition being accepted, the Mayor, who was the President of the Association, and Aldermen Benjamin Phipps and John L. Taggard, and Henry P. Fairbanks, President, and Erdix T. Swift, Thomas F. Holden, and Otis Clapp, members of the Common Council, were joined as members of the City Committee.

Mr. Everett having accepted the appointment of orator, the question arose in the Committee as to the place for the public exercises. On previous occasions, the Association was able to obtain a considerable area outside of the square, which, added thereto, was sufficient to accommodate a great assemblage; but now buildings had been erected on every side. It was determined to resort to one of the large ship-houses in the Navy Yard, the use of which was freely granted by Hon. William Ballard Preston, the Secretary of the Navy. This building is supposed to stand on the spot where a portion of the British troops landed from their boats on the morning of the 17th June, 1775. It was appropriately fitted up for the occasion, and handsomely decorated, under the direction of Commodore JOHN DOWNES, who was then commanding this naval station.

Colonel Isaac H. Wright was appointed chief marshal, and Major-General Benjamin F. Edmands had the direction of the military escort, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Boyd acting as chief of staff. The command of the escort was subsequently assigned by General

Edmands to Colonel Joseph Andrews, of Salem. Governor George N. Briggs ordered out the Boston Independent Corps of Cadets, Colonel T. C. Amory commander, as his body-guard.

The day was fine. A large procession, composed of the invited guests, the various organizations of Charlestown and Boston, the faculty and students of Harvard College in its different departments, the Association, the city government, and a large body of citizens, was formed at City Square; and at 12 o'clock, the very hour appointed, moved through the principal streets of Charlestown, which were lined with spectators and adorned with brilliant decorations, set off with patriotic mottoes. The children of the public schools were formed in line upon the sides of Monument Square as the procession passed by.

The ship-house had been open to ladies before the procession arrived, and, after the building was filled to its utmost capacity, it presented an indescribable appearance of beauty and splendor. Flags of all nations, and drapery, interspersed with hanging flowers, concealed the rudeness of its construction; the side stages were metamorphosed into elegant galleries; and what had been a huge workshop in which workmen fashioned and built the national ships of war became for the occasion a modern Coliseum, filled to overflowing with a cultivated audience, assembled to commemorate the dawn of the national existence.

After music, a fervent prayer by Rev. Dr. Ellis, chaplain of the day, and the singing of an original



ode, composed by F. A. Durivage to the tune of "Hail Columbia," the orator was presented.

There was a certain inimitable grace and power in Mr. Everett's oratory that one who had never heard him could not realize. The oration itself was carefully prepared, with all the touching incidents and circumstances of time and place foreseen; the main subject was wrought out and unfolded clear and strong,—like the swift current of the stream gathering strength in its course; and the whole possessed in that perfect memory of his, so that the apt words proceeded from his mouth in the prearranged order without the least perceptible effort, but with complete accuracy and entire naturalness, with the graceful gesture suited to the word, and with that ease and flow and warmth of expression which would lead the entranced listener to think it was all the glowing inspiration of the moment.

In his exordium, he referred the audience to the roof which sheltered them hung with the banners of all nations, but none more honored than our own; to the dismantled ships of war which at short notice could be clothed "with the naval thunders of America;" to the park of artillery which they had just passed, and to other instances of striking contrast with the day of 1775, as themselves monuments which told the same story as that erected by the Association, against which the storms of a thousand winters would beat in vain. The Association, he said, had established for one of its objects the celebration, at frequent intervals, of this anniversary; so that their obelisk should

never be like its Egyptian prototype, — “a silent mystery to the successive generations that gaze upon it;” — but that there should be frequently made upon the spot a living record and solemn attestation of the events and principles in honor of which it was erected. Alluding to the masterly orations of 1825 and 1843, and to the historic accounts of the battle, he proceeded to unfold the unexampled consequences of that event in their different stages, resulting in the consummation of the Union by the nation’s birth; and, deprecating any thing that should threaten to destroy the national unity, he closed with this aspiration: “Let pure patriotism add its bond to the bars of iron which are binding this continent together; and, as intelligence shoots with the electric spark from ocean to ocean, let public spirit and love of country catch from heart to heart.”

The great concourse of people were enchained by the orator’s eloquence for an hour and a quarter, with frequent interruptions of genuine applause. After the benediction of the chaplain had dismissed the vast assembly, the Association and City Council, with the invited guests and the subscribers to the dinner, proceeded, under the same military escort, to the large hall of the Fitchburg Railroad Company’s station, where they sat down to a feast, to the number of twelve hundred.

In due time, the President extended a welcome to the company assembled to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, and to note its results up to that time. “Who of us,” he asked, “will be permitted to take a similar observation when the century shall be completed?”

In reply to appropriate sentiments, speeches and toasts were given, in order, by the Governor, George N. Briggs, Mr. Justice Levi Woodbury, of the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State, Charles Devens, Jr., United States Marshal, in answer to a toast in honor of the President of the United States, and by John P. Bigelow, Mayor of Boston, and others.

Mr. Webster, who was prevented by official duties from attending, as Mr. Everett had been likewise prevented from attending the former celebrations, sent a thrilling patriotic letter, concluding with this toast:

*"Bunker Hill Monument, — May it crumble to the dust before it shall look down upon a country dishonored, disgraced, and ruined by the breaking up, by sacrilegious hands, of that UNION which has secured its liberty, fostered its prosperity, and spread its glory and renown throughout the world."*

The following from Ex-Speaker Robert C. Winthrop, who was also detained at Washington, was announced: —

*"Bunker Hill and Yorktown, — The opening struggle and the crowning triumph of the same great contest for American Liberty. May a common glory in the past, a common pride in the present, and a common interest in the future keep them always united under the flag of a common country."*

This celebration not only gave great satisfaction throughout the country, but was the occasion of the one which followed after another interval of seven years. Colonel Perkins, Ex-President of the Association, who attended these exercises, was prompted on

that day to offer one thousand dollars towards the erection of a Monument on Bunker Hill to General Warren. This proposition was referred to the President, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Franklin Dexter, who reported in favor of a statue. Their report was accepted. A petition was addressed to Congress for a grant in compliance with the resolution passed by the Continental Congress in 1777, that a Monument be erected to General Joseph Warren in Boston; but, this failing, the Committee were authorized to receive subscriptions, and to assume the whole work. Henry Dexter, the sculptor, was, by the advice of Colonel Perkins, employed to execute the Monumental Statue. Arrangements were made for its inauguration June 17, 1857, by a Committee consisting of the President, Mr. Everett, Dr. William R. Lawrence, Mr. Wheildon, Mr. Winthrop, and Messrs. Peter Hubbell, F. W. Lincoln, Jr., T. T. Sawyer, and J. W. Wightman. Colonel Thomas Aspinwall was appointed Grand Marshal, who had for aides General John S. Tyler and Colonel Newell A. Thompson. A fine Pavilion was erected on the north side of Monument Square to accommodate ten thousand. Mr. James Lawrence was Chief Marshal of the grounds. The Committee and invited guests assembled at the State House. The Legislature had appointed a joint Committee with full powers to make arrangements for the reception of distinguished visitors. As on the two preceding celebrations, the President of the United States and his Cabinet, the Vice-President and Senators, and the Governors of the States, were invited.

Medford 15 June

1857.

Dear Sir,

I think You asked me, whether I was willing the Ode should follow the prayer. I think that would be a very good arrangement. I should then like to have the band play "Hail Columbia" or "Star-spangled banner"; and at the close let the Statue be uncovered..

If You approve this, please give the requisite direction to the leader of the band, & to the person charged with uncovering the Statue.

Yours very truly,

Edward Everett.

Hon. G. Washington Warren.



The procession started at 12 noon precisely, under a fine military escort tendered by the City of Charlestown, Hon. Timothy T. Sawyer, Mayor, under the command of Colonel Charles B. Rogers. The famous Seventh Regiment of New York, under Colonel A. Duryea and Lt.-Colonel M. Lefferts, formed a conspicuous part of the escort. The Masonic Fraternity, various societies and institutions, and a large body of citizens composed the procession, which surpassed even those of the former occasions, as the crowds of spectators on the line and the splendor of the decorations of the streets exceeded those before. At three o'clock the exercises on the ground commenced, at about the same hour that the battle began there eighty-two years before. Rev. Dr. James Walker, then President of Harvard College, officiated as the Chaplain, as his Predecessor did the day before the battle, when the troops were about to leave the College quarters for the uncertain conflict. Mr. Everett gave the address of Presentation of the Statue to the Association, in his finest and most eloquent manner. The President made the address of reception. John T. Heard, as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, performed the Masonic ceremonies, and addresses were made by him, by Governor Henry J. Gardner, by Mr. Winthrop, and several of the distinguished strangers, — all filled with most patriotic sentiments.

Colonel Perkins did not live to witness the execution of the work which he originated. He died January 11, 1854, in the ninetieth year of his age. In

addition to his fame as an eminent merchant, a patriotic citizen, and the first gentleman of his time, his name will be gratefully remembered, not only as an instrumental founder of the Association, but as the one who gave to it an example, and led the way in the commemoration of illustrious men by erecting monumental statues to their memory.

A full account of this celebration was published by the Association in a volume edited by Mr. Wheildon, and entitled "The Inauguration of the Statue of General Warren on Bunker Hill;" a book which may always be consulted with interest as giving a true index of the real feeling of the community, showing an ardent love of country at a period so near the impending crisis.

The theme of all the orations and speeches on Bunker Hill is what Mr. Webster said the Monument should ever remind us of, — the Liberty and the glory of the country. "Here upon Bunker Hill was laid the corner-stone of American Independence." Here is the nation's landmark, the primal point of observation, where, at frequent intervals in the long line of the future, whoever shall be deemed most worthy shall speak on this anniversary, in behalf of and to the people of America, of the great blessings of their inheritance, and of their bounden duty to transmit them unabridged to posterity.



1

2





Robt. Winthrop.  
Speaker.

4. INTERVIEW - A confidential source of the FBI, who has been identified as "Herb A. [redacted]" advised that he had been contacted by a person who identified himself as "Bertie" on October 10, 1964. The person stated that he was a member of the "Black Panther Party" and was looking for a place to live. The source stated that he was not sure of the person's name, but that he was sure of the person's address. The source stated that he was not sure of the person's name, but that he was sure of the person's address. The source stated that he was not sure of the person's name, but that he was sure of the person's address.

An invitation from the President of the University of the Pacific by Mr. Deane, and his acceptance, after visiting Cambridge the Royal Academy, and then to attend the PHU. The reception was given at the White House, as the Duke of New York, and the Duke of Gloucester had uniformed the whole American Army. At the reception, each had a name, and had a name of the President of the University of the Pacific.



Wm. H. C. C. C.  
London.



## CHAPTER XV.

It is when the hour of conflict is over, that History comes to a right understanding of the strife, and is ready to exclaim, "Lo, God is here, and we knew it not."

**A**LBERT EDWARD, Prince of Wales, and Heir Apparent of the British throne, made a visit to Bunker Hill, with his full accompanying suite, October 19, 1860, the seventy-ninth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis to Washington at Yorktown, which was the termination of the struggle of separation from the Mother Country. This coincidence, entirely accidental, might yet almost be said to have been Providential; at least it might be regarded as an auspicious omen of permanent peace between England and America.

An invitation from the President was forwarded to the Prince by Mr. Everett, and it was arranged that after visiting Cambridge the Royal party should go to Bunker Hill. The reception was informal and without ceremony, as the Duke of Newcastle on behalf of His Royal Highness had uniformly insisted should be the case during the whole American tour. After the Prince and his suite had each written his name in the Visitors' Book, and had seen the statue of General Warren, the President conducted his

Royal Highness to the interior of the Monument, where he explained its construction, and also the reason for the placing of the model of the Masonic Monument where it stands, and then passed outside upon the walk within the inner enclosure. As the Prince, apart from the rest, was viewing the objects of interest as pointed out, and was shown the British ensign flying for the first time from the top by the side of the American flag, he observed, "This Monument was not erected to our glory." "True, your Highness," replied the President, "but it marks the birth of a kindred nation, which will ever own its affection for the mother-country, and as an ally will prove as valuable as though she were still a part of her." To this remark his Royal Highness, in appropriate words, gave his cordial assent. After the visit was over, the Prince, in passing through the great crowd of spectators, was loudly cheered.

From Bunker Hill the party proceeded to the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where its President, Mr. Winthrop, showed to his Royal Highness the various works and memorials of historic interest, and called his special attention to the two swords which were worn on the day of the Battle of Bunker Hill, — the one by Colonel Prescott, and the other by Captain Linzee, who commanded the "Falcon," one of the British ships of war that fired upon the American redoubt, and which the marriage of the two grandchildren — William H. Prescott, the historian, and a grand-daughter of Captain Linzee — had

brought together, and crossed in perpetual union. No more fitting illustration could have been furnished to this most distinguished party of the genuine feeling of friendship and good-will which the American people desired to manifest; and, following the visit to Bunker Hill, it was most timely and felicitous.

It is said that his Royal Highness and suite were particularly pleased with their reception in Boston, and with the courteous and cordial attentions extended on her behalf by her Mayor, Hon. Frederic W. Lincoln, a Director of the Association, who made them feel quite at home, as if they were in an English town. At any rate, the sending to the Prince, after his return home, of a suitable memento of his remarkable visit to Bunker Hill, was the occasion of eliciting an expression of reciprocal regard in high quarters peculiarly welcome at the time, as the following correspondence will show: —

7 MONUMENT SQUARE,  
CHARLESTOWN, Mass., Dec. 10, 1860.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, —

I most respectfully beg leave to present to your Royal Highness the accompanying Parchment, to testify the appreciation by the Government of the Bunker Hill Monument Association of the memorable visit to Bunker Hill on the 19th of October last. The original, of which this is an exact copy, — the autographs of your Royal Highness and suite being taken from the Register and placed thereon, — is kept for public inspection in the office of the Monument, there to be carefully preserved *in perpetuam memoriam rei*, and in cordial commemoration of the noble sentiment uttered by your Royal Highness on this celebrated spot.

It has been thought that a *fac-simile* of this memorial would not be unacceptable to Your Royal Highness, and accordingly, at the suggestion of the Honorable Edward Everett, and of the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, Vice-Presidents of the Association, and many others, I do herewith tender it, with sentiments of my most profound respect, and with the most hearty congratulations of us all upon the welcome visit with which our country has been honored, and the happy return of your Royal Highness to our Fatherland.

G. WASHINGTON WARREN,

*President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

The foregoing was forwarded by Mr. Everett, with the accompanying parcel and a letter from himself, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and subsequently the following letters were received from his Grace and from General Bruce: —

DOWNING ST., Feb. 8, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. EVERETT, — About ten days ago, I received from you a roll of paper, which, with an enclosure for the Prince of Wales, from the Hon. G. Washington Warren, contained a letter to myself from you of date 10th December.

You probably sent it by a private hand, and I only mention the interval between the date of your letter and my receipt of it, that you may not suppose I neglected the parcel. I sent it to the Prince at Cambridge without delay.

I assure you the Queen and Prince Consort have felt very deeply all the kindness — may I not say affection? — which was shown to the Prince of Wales during his late most interesting and remarkable visit to the United States, and I find that I by no means overrated, in my conversations with you and others, the effect which that kindness would produce in this country.

That effect has been very remarkably shown in the feelings which the sad events now occurring in your country have



elicited. Time was, and that not long past, when you might have heard in every society jeers at the supposed failure of your institutions, and even exultation at the prospect of your pride being humbled and your greatness lowered. Now every account is looked for with the greatest anxiety, and I believe the desire that you may ride through the storm unharmed is all but universal. I have heard a Frenchman express his utter inability to comprehend "such foolish generosity and blindness to our own interests," as not to wish the utter disruption of the States.

If I may be allowed to speak of my own sentiments, I can assure you that all I saw during the few weeks spent in America has created an interest in my mind for the welfare of the country that I read your newspapers with a pain which could only be exceeded by the news of disasters to my own dear land. I sadly fear you have great troubles yet to come; but to learn from you (if you will ever spare me a few lines) that you have better hopes would be a great relief.

Believe me always, my dear Mr. Everett,

Yours very sincerely,

NEWCASTLE.

---

WADINGLEY HALL, Cambridge.

MY DEAR MR. EVERETT, — I am desired by the Prince of Wales to thank you and the members of the Bunker's Hill Committee for the document you kindly forwarded at their instance for his acceptance, commemorative of His Royal Highness's visit to the Monument erected there. Of all the many agreeable recollections connected with his gratifying tour in the United States, none are more cherished than those attaching to his sojourn in your interesting city, and all such memorials of it possess a peculiar value in his eyes.

We have had the gratification of making the acquaintance of your son at the University, who bids fair I believe to tread

in the footsteps of his distinguished father, and to prove himself not unworthy of his descent.

I say nothing about your politics, except that I most unfeignedly hope that the present dissensions between different sections of the country may speedily disappear.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Everett,

Very faithfully yours,

R. BRUCE.

Upon the publication of the proceedings of the Association, at the annual meeting in 1861, a handsomely bound copy was presented to the Prince through the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, Mr. Adams, who subsequently transmitted a copy of the letter received by him in acknowledgment, as follows: —

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,  
September 29, 1861.

SIR, — Absence from England has prevented me from having the honor of acknowledging at an earlier period the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 11th inst. The Prince of Wales, who returned last night from the Continent, desires me to thank you for the communication in question, and to request that Your Excellency will have the goodness to express to the Bunker's Hill Monument Association of Boston His Royal Highness's sense of the obligation conferred upon him by the transmission for his acceptance of the volume which accompanied your letter.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

R. BRUCE, *Major-General.*

To His Excellency the Hon. C. F. ADAMS, &c., *Legation of the United States.*

It is gratifying to reflect that the Association were the means of eliciting by this correspondence, before the outbreak of the civil war, so hearty an expression of good-will and sympathy from the distinguished personages so near the British Throne. However credulously some of the leading Statesmen and politicians of England might have listened to the suggestions referred to in the Duke's letter, it is now well known that the Queen and the people of England favored the cause of the United States. They were true to the instincts of Humanity.

The error of the Seceding States in seeking to absolve themselves from allegiance to the National Government, and to form a new confederation upon the basis of slavery as the corner-stone, was owing to the false education and enforced public sentiment which had been sedulously promoted by the aspiring politicians of the South for a generation. The more perfect Union formed by the people of the United States by the adoption of their Constitution was invariably spoken of by them as a Confederacy; the National Government they called the Federal Government; they spoke of the Sovereign States; but they did not own they had a Country. This studied effort to de-nationalize their own section produced at last its baneful consequences.

Thus they claimed that any of the States had the right to leave the "Confederacy" at pleasure, and whenever the sectional power of the Slave States as a unit should cease to be predominant in all the

branches of the General Government, they declared their purpose of secession. On the accession of President Lincoln, they deemed the time had come, and they undertook to execute their long-cherished design.

In looking back upon the course of public opinion in those States, in the light of the pernicious doctrines inculcated for a third of a century, it cannot be denied that these men were sincere in their views; their bravery and self-denial showed how earnest they were in defending them. Still the union sentiment and love of the whole country were fondly cherished by many hearts in the discontented States, and yielded only to the coercive spirit of the madness which ruled the hour. The excited leaders, in order to change the almost irrepressible feeling of loyalty into aversion, caused the flag of the nation to be trampled under foot, or to be torn in pieces before the people,—an indignity which, if it had been offered or attempted in a foreign land, or at home by a foreign power, would have roused their own indignation and resentment.

It was a fitting time therefore for the Association on its first anniversary, in 1861, after the attempted secession had assumed the formidable appearance of war, to uplift the flag of the nation from above the summit of the Monument erected to its glory. This was done with the most imposing ceremony possible, in order to render it an inspiring occasion during the dubious time. A mast seventy feet long, sur-

mounted by a gilt ball, had been prepared and bolted to the upper courses of the Monument, so that a flag of the largest size might clear its apex.

A great concourse of people, enthusiastic in their loyalty, gathered around the base of the Monument at nine o'clock in the morning of that glorious day. An appropriate prayer for the occasion was made by Rev. James B. Miles. A select choir, organized by William H. Kent, sung a concerted piece, entitled "The Rock of Liberty." The President made a short opening address to His Excellency John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, in which he predicted the failure of the Rebellion in the following language: "Belief in a beneficent Providence assures to us the ultimate success of the issue. Order is Heaven's first law. If, in the old countries, forms of government, in themselves objectionable, are patiently submitted to by intelligent populations for the blessings of peace, HERE, where the best form is established which reason and experience can contrive, the reflecting judgment, the incalculable interests, and the restored affections of the people will at last unite to preserve it for the good of the whole country. Surely our substantial fabric of society, this system of law, of order, of culture, of progress and happiness, — the growth of a century, — the associations of what to us is America, will not be destroyed for the wanton purpose of attempting new combinations. As well might one propose to batter down this Monument to its base, with the view of rearing from its disjointed materials a structure more firm, more appropriate, and more

majestic, as to think of dissolving the Union for the purpose of constructing one or more Confederations that would not last long enough to claim the respect of the world, or even their own." At the close of his address, the President requested the Governor to unfurl the flag.

Governor Andrew commenced his reply as follows: —

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, —

"The request of your patriotic society, which with pious and loyal devotion has preserved this silent granite to stand for ever in this Mecca of the returning American Patriot, and the approbation of the people of this historic town, is more than command, on the seventeenth of June, to the Chief Executive of Massachusetts.

"Obedient to your request, I am here to-day, present as the humble but official representative of this venerable and renowned Commonwealth, attended by the gentlemen of the Council and by the representatives of our military arm, proud also to be surrounded by gentlemen of the army and navy, whose presence adds greater significance of the day, whose valor has illustrated the American name upon all seas, and who have followed that starry flag which shall stand for ever while time shall endure, as a sign of the pious love of man and God which distinguished the fathers of the American Republic."

After recalling the scenes of the Revolution, and referring to the then impending civil strife, he closed his eloquent address as follows: —

"If this Monument needed a voice, if it does not now speak with silent but most mysterious and most eloquent organ,

then let our country's flag, as it crowns the pinnacle of its loftiest height, speak for it. Obedient, therefore, to the request of this Association, and to the impulse of my own heart, I spread aloft the blazing ensign of the Republic, testifying for ever, to the last generation of men, of the rights of mankind, and of constitutional liberty and law. Let it rise, until it shall surmount the capital of the column; let it float on every wind, to every sea and every shore; from every hill-top let it wave; down every river let it run. Respected it shall be in Charlestown, Massachusetts; and in Charleston, South Carolina; on the Mississippi and on the Penobscot; in New Orleans as in Cincinnati; in the Gulf of Mexico as on Lake Superior, and by France and England, now and for ever. Catch it, ye breezes, as it swings aloft; fan it, every wind that blows, clasp it in your arms, and let it float for ever as the starry sign of 'Liberty, now and for ever, one and inseparable.' "

As the Governor then pulled the rope, which loosened the knot high above, the flag leaped from the narrow compass into which it had been pent up, and spread out large and beautiful to the morning breeze, the multitude cheering and waving their handkerchiefs with frantic enthusiasm. Gilmore's Band played the "Star-spangled Banner," the words of which were immediately after sung, Mr. Frank A. Hall, with his clear-sounding voice, leading off, and the ladies joining in the chorus. Then "America" was sung in the same style and with the same effect. It was a spectacle worthy of Bunker Hill, and of her heaven-born mission, — sublime and stirring enough to have fixed in loyalty any swerving Southern heart, could it only have been brought within its inspiring reach.

There was an incident of historic significance connected with this ceremony, — the presence of Colonel Fletcher Webster, commanding the Twelfth Regiment of Massachusetts volunteers, then on their way to the field of action. He was the only surviving son of the great Statesman and orator: his other son had died before for his country in the Mexican war. The Governor presented him to the great assembly. He would have been gladly heard if only for his father's sake. But he had an eloquence and a mission all his own. He uttered a few strong, thrilling sentences with deep emotion, as if with a presentiment that he was for the last time treading the sacred ground. He said, in closing: "I now stand again at the base of the Monument, and renew once more on this national altar vows, not for the first time made, of devotion to my country, its constitution and union.

"I feel the inspiration which breathes around this spot; I feel the awful presence of the great dead, who speak to us out of this hallowed ground; they call to us with voices more impressive to us than human, to show ourselves not unworthy sons. From this spot I take my departure, like the mariner commencing his voyage, and wherever my eyes may close they will be turned hitherward toward this North; and, in whatever event, grateful will be the reflection that this Monument still stands, — still, still is gilded by the earliest beams of the rising sun, and that still departing day lingers and plays on its summit for ever."

Colonel Webster sealed his patriotic devotion with his blood, at Bull Run, August 30, 1862.



Others descended from or nearly akin to the founders and officers of the Association gave their lives to the cause, as General Thomas G. Stevenson, Colonel Robert G. Shaw, Lt.-Colonel Waldo Merriam, Captain N. B. Shurtleff, Lieutenant H. F. Wolcott, and Joseph P. Hubbell. There were others who bravely served in the field, and returned home. Dr. Luther V. Bell, one of the Directors, also died while on service in the field as a Brigade Surgeon.

During the whole war, the Association employed its unremitting efforts upon the side of loyalty, and for the complete reconciliation of the disaffected section to the country which was so soon to be reunited. At the annual meeting in 1862, the President said in his address: "On this anniversary, we can mark the wonderful progress of the past year. That flag is now honored in every State. On the land and on the sea, it waves with new brilliancy. States as States are returning to their allegiance. The Constitution of the Union is in the ascendant. Let us hope that on the next anniversary, which will be the fortieth of the Association, we shall be able to hold the anticipated public commemoration of a reunion of all the States, a restoration of the ancient feeling of mutual good-will, and of that essential, unreserved loyalty to our sacred Constitution, which has formed the people of the United States of America one great Republic, demonstrated by the passing events to be INDIVISIBLE and INVINCIBLE." Mr. Winthrop followed in a concise and eloquent speech, heartily indorsing the sentiments expressed by the chair, and moved the printing

the address with the proceedings of the day, which was unanimously carried.

The Association never faltered in its faith that the issue of the contest would be decided in favor of the UNION, on which THE MONUMENT STANDS. Wherever the power of the nation was acknowledged, the people also manifested their faith by prosecuting the works and cultivating the arts of peace. Churches and school-houses were erected,—the sure muniments of defence,—universities of learning and institutions of charity were endowed. The City of Boston during the war erected her new City Hall, under Mayors Wightman and Lincoln; Charlestown established her Mystic Water Works; and, as if to crown and consecrate the national struggle, Congress completed the Capitol by elevating upon its highest pinnacle the Statue of LIBERTY.

In 1864, on a suggestion made by Mr. Wheildon, a Committee consisting of himself, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. J. H. Wolcott, and Dr. Winslow Lewis, was appointed to consider the expediency of re-erecting in Boston the Beacon Hill Monument, which was built in 1790, and was taken down in 1810, in consequence of the reduction of the hill upon which it stood. This Committee applied to the Legislature for an additional act, which was passed, and was formally accepted by the Association at the annual meeting in 1865. This act is in these words:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*In the Year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.*

AN ACT,

In addition to an Act to incorporate the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows :—*

SECT. 1. That the Bunker Hill Monument Association be, and they hereby are, authorized, on some suitable site to be selected and provided by them, to rebuild the Beacon Hill Monument, which was in seventeen hundred and ninety built by the citizens of Boston “to commemorate that train of events which led to the American Revolution, and finally secured liberty and independence to the United States,” and to take such legal and proper measures as may be necessary to effect their object; *provided*, that said Association shall not be authorized to rebuild said Monument on any land belonging to the City of Boston, without the consent of its public authorities first obtained.

SECT. 2. That, for the purpose expressed in the foregoing section, the said Bunker Hill Monument Association are hereby authorized to take and receive the four tablets or inscriptions, formerly composing a part of said Beacon Hill Monument, now in the Doric Hall of the State House; and the Sergeant-at-Arms for the time being is authorized and empowered to deliver the same to said Association, its Committee or agent, whenever he is satisfied said tablets are to be used in rebuilding said Monument, and are required for that purpose.

Approved by the Governor,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

March 28, 1865.

Although the trust reposed by this act has not yet been fulfilled, the appointment of a Committee, a year before the civil war terminated, to consider the expediency of reproducing this Monument, is a signal proof not only of the faith of the Association in the happy result, but of its steadfast purpose to do every thing in its power to perpetuate the memory of the early events of our country's history, and thus add new incentives to patriotism.

The last time that the flag was displayed from the elevated mast was on November 25, 1866, the day set apart by the Proclamation of President Johnson as a day of National Thanksgiving for the cessation of the Rebellion. The mast was soon after taken down, having fully subserved its purpose, and the Monument presented its original appearance. In the spring of 1867, a liberty-pole was erected on the square one hundred and forty feet high, and about sixty feet distant from the north-easterly corner of the Monument. On the cross-bar was lettered the motto, "Liberty and Union:" "1775, 17th of June, 1867." A flag was first displayed on the anniversary in 1867. This arrangement was made by the Standing Committee as an experiment, in order to relieve the Monument from the disparaging effect, in an artistic point of view, by providing instead a way of displaying the flag from a liberty-pole near by. It was removed in 1874; and two flags are now, on occasions, hung from poles put out of the side windows of the Monument, which interrupts the outline of its beautiful proportions.

The observance of the centennial anniversary was in contemplation for years before its advent. At the preceding anniversary, in 1874, Mr. WINTHROP was elected orator by the Association; and the Standing Committee, consisting of the President, Treasurer, Secretary, and thirteen Directors, were instructed to make all the other necessary arrangements. Mr. Winthrop, feeling compelled, by necessary absence abroad, to decline the honor, CHARLES DEVENS, Jr., one of the Directors, and a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, who served as Brigadier-General of Volunteers in the Rebellion, was appointed by the Standing Committee in his place. The Committee occupied much time during the year in making the arrangements which devolved upon the Association.

Fortunately, by the legislative act of Union passed in 1873, which was accepted by the voters of Boston and Charlestown on the day of the State election, the two cities became one on the first Monday of January, 1874, and thus the government of the metropolis could properly take a prominent part in the due observance of the first centennial anniversary. It cordially co-operated in making its arrangements upon a magnificent scale. The City Council appropriated for the purpose the munificent sum of thirty-five thousand dollars, which, by the good management of the Mayor, Samuel C. Cobb, and the committee acting with him, was not quite expended.

In 1873, the Association, on the motion of Colonel Henry Walker, a Director, ordered that the Direc-

tors petition the Legislature that the 17th of June be declared by law a legal holiday. In 1874, the Legislature, on its consideration, referred the subject to the next Legislature (1875), which only passed the resolve that it should be made a holiday for that year. It also made a liberal appropriation for the entertainment of distinguished guests of the State, and authorized the Governor to order a review of all the volunteer troops of the State on the day of the celebration. Governor GASTON readily acceded. Thus, by the combined action of the State, the Metropolis, and the Association, the finest military and civic display took place that had ever been witnessed at any ceremonial on the continent.

As the city and the Association has published each, in an elegant style, a full account of this, the grandest of all popular celebrations, it is sufficient in this History, referring to what may be readily found in those volumes, to briefly glance at some incidents of the occasion.

As the grand procession organized by the city, under the lead of General OSBORN, its Chief Marshal, and his numerous staff and corps of assistants, passed over the long route of about seven miles, commencing at the new Boston, which had within the half-century risen up from the Bay, and thence along the historic streets and places of the olden time, all profusely decorated with flags and densely packed with immense throngs of spectators, who hailed with special welcome their brethren in arms from the Southern States, the enthusiasm was irrepressible. Music and

cheers filled the air. The perfect order of the march, the beauty and variety of the uniforms and equipages, and the number of distinguished characters, and the hosts still marching on, astonished the sight. All the glories and memories of the former celebrations seemed to be concentrated in this.

It was half-past six o'clock before Colonel HENRY WALKER, the Chief Marshal of the Association, called to order the great assembly in the Pavilion in front of the Monument. After a devout prayer by Rev. Dr. RUFUS ELLIS, the pastor of the First Church in Boston, which in the early settlement first worshipped in Charlestown, and after the singing of a hymn, "Prayer before Battle," by the Apollo Club, the President presented the orator of the day. As a great-grandson of one who, bearing the self-same name, was one hundred years before a member of that renowned and patriotic Committee of Safety, and approved, to the ruin of his private fortune, of the order given to fortify that hill; as an accomplished scholar, versed in knowledge, literature, and in the history of his country; and as a gallant soldier, who buckled on his sword and marched to the field to maintain the country's integrity, and then returned to adorn the highest judicial office in the State, — he spoke to the attentive auditory with authority, and with all the unction, grace, and power which the theme and the occasion could inspire. As he spoke for nearly an hour, without once referring to his notes, and epitomizing for lack of time his prepared oration, he enchained in rapt admiration General Sherman and the other distinguished men

around, and the great mass before them. Vice-President Wilson said, and these were almost the last public words he spoke, "No words uttered by Webster were better calculated to do more good, in all this broad land, than are the words uttered here to-day, in the present condition of the country."

Owing to the too late hour at which the exercises commenced, there were but few responses, and those quite brief, from the representatives of other States. These were interspersed by singing by the Apollo Club of an original hymn by Charles James Sprague, Esq., and other songs. Colonel Walker pronounced the prize ode by George Sennott, Esq., a concluding hymn by the President was sung, and then the great gathering was dismissed by Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, Rector of Trinity Church. For the first time the festivity of a dinner with patriotic toasts and speeches was dispensed with. There were, however, many entertainments in the evening, at which the numerous guests exchanged hearty greetings with their generous hosts.

The Masonic Orders and Lodges did not appear in the procession, as so many of the Fraternity were in the military and civil organizations. But the Officers of the Grand Lodge of the State appeared; the Grand Master, Percival L. Everett, wearing the Masonic apron of the Grand Lodge which belonged to General Joseph Warren, and the late Dr. Winslow Lewis wearing the same Masonic apron which Lafayette wore fifty years before. Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Loth-



rop, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Francis C. Whiston, the toast-master of 1825, and a few other veterans, who were in this procession, were also in that of the half-century celebration. With what emotion must they have contrasted the day of 1875 with that of 1825—the great growth and improvement of the enlarged metropolis; the route extended to give room to the longer procession and the multiplied spectators; the country, too, with her new-born States stretching out to the Pacific Coast, and yet brought nearer together by the new ties of the railroad, and, greatest of wonders, the electric telegraph, waiting to transmit, in an instant, the latest news all over the globe!

When Lafayette, in his toast at the semi-centennial anniversary, predicted that the toast at this centennial jubilee would be "To Enfranchised Europe," he did not conceive, any more than did his gratified entertainers, of the miraculous change which the spirit of Liberty would then have wrought in the United States. It did not then seem credible that slavery, entailed upon the Southern States by the mother country, to which the Northern States had largely contributed by the gainful transportation of the captured Africans, and which had become so deep rooted in Southern soil, would ever be abolished by amendment to the national organic law. But God—with whom all things are possible—has manifested himself to us in the history of our first century, and we may surely believe that He will inspire and guide the national heart to solve

the political and social problems, and to meet the emergencies, of the centuries that are to follow.

The flag of the Republic waves more proudly now; the Monument appears the more grand and eloquent orator; the Declaration of Independence is a sublime reality; the Republic is in truth an exemplar. Henceforth in the territory of the United States all men are born free and equal; and free education, equal rights, benevolent institutions, private munificence, and the kindly offices of that Charity which never faileth, will overcome or ameliorate that inequality of position and circumstances which seems to be the ordained lot of humanity. May He, who made of one blood all nations of men, harmonize and make homogeneous the United States of America, destined to be composed of all races and sects, whose boast it is, and always should be, that their land is the Asylum of the oppressed and the Home of the free!









## CHAPTER XVI.

Earth has not any thing to show more fair :  
Dull would he be of soul to pass by  
A sight so touching in its majesty.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT is a fit type of the national unity. Built in the form of a monolithic structure, but of such large proportions, and of such unique interior arrangement, as to compel the use of many separate blocks, it aptly illustrates, in its grandeur as a single object, and in the beautiful adaptation and harmony of its several parts, the national motto, "*E pluribus unum* ;" signifying that out of many States there has sprung up, by a sort of natural growth, our glorious Union.

It is not to be doubted that Mr. Webster, in his masterly speeches defending the Union and the Constitution, drew a sort of inspiration from the ardor with which, from the very first, he advocated the design of the Monument. Not only in the Senate and in the popular assembly, but before the Supreme Court of the United States also, as the important leading cases arose, his eloquence kindled as he had occasion to develop the latent powers of the Constitution, showing that this ably drawn instrument, adopted by the people, was eminently national in its scope and au-

thority, was susceptible of adaptation to every contingency, and was potent to nullify any State act which was inconsistent with any of its provisions. In his later years, he clearly demonstrated the physical and the moral impossibility of a peaceable secession of any of the States; and, though the Union has not continued under the temporary compromises which he assisted in framing, it has been carried through the emergencies of a stupendous war, in a great degree, by the beacon light which shines resplendent from his patriotic orations and forensic arguments. It remained for him, a few years before his lamented decease, to take the lead in the settlement of an important question with regard to the Monument.

In the first letter issued by the Committee of Correspondence in 1823, it was suggested that the proposed Monument should contain the names and dates of the distinguished characters and events which originated the independence of the country. In 1841, a committee of eminent men was appointed to prepare an inscription for a tablet to be placed in the Monument. Though the individual members were notified every year of their appointment, nothing was done by them. At the meeting of the Directors held June 17, 1848, the matter was called up by Mr. Robert G. Shaw; and, upon his motion, the President was requested to fill the vacancies in the Committee caused by the death of Judge Story and Hon. John Quincy Adams; and the Committee was further authorized to provide the tablet and inscription agreeably to the original vote. — The President appointed Dr. John C.

Warren and Mr. William Appleton; the other members of the Committee being Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and Franklin Dexter. Mr. Everett, in the absence of Mr. Webster, acted as chairman, and convened several meetings, at which the President was present by invitation. Mr. Francis C. Gray and Mr. Ticknor were invited to send in their suggestions. At last Mr. Everett was requested to prepare the inscriptions from those submitted to him, with such alterations as he might suggest.

As a matter of curiosity, some of the sketches or studies submitted are here given. The following are by Mr. Gray, with Mr. Ticknor's approval: —

(1)

Here  
was the centre  
of the works thrown up  
and so long defended  
by the Americans  
under  
COL. PRESCOTT  
June 17  
1775.

(2)

Honor  
to  
the men  
of  
Massachusetts  
Connecticut  
and  
New Hampshire  
who fell here  
fulfilling their duty  
to  
their country  
and  
mankind.

(3)

The names  
of those who fought here  
belong to history  
and  
will outlast  
this stone.

(4)

Near this spot  
GENERAL WARREN  
and other men of New England  
fell  
in the cause  
of their Country  
and of  
Freedom.

Mr. Gray's letter accompanying the foregoing, written in an enthusiastic style, is worthy of preservation: —

FRIDAY EVENING, 2d March, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, — In compliance with your request, I have conferred with Mr. Ticknor, and enclose, as the result, two sketches.

No. 1 is designed to state the precise spot and date in the simplest words possible; No. 2, as a tribute to the dead, without distinction of rank, for death knows none: all gave their lives, and no one could give more. It is stated that about one hundred were killed of Massachusetts, fifteen from Connecticut, and fifteen from New Hampshire; and it seems due to the States who aided the former as auxiliaries that day to mention their names with hers. The last words were suggested by a sentiment frequently expressed in Europe, — that this was the first battle ever fought solely for the maintenance of popular rights; and who knows but that centuries hence it may be deemed the Thermopylæ not only of American liberty, but of freedom, wherever it shall be found?

Neither of us can devise an inscription with names likely to be at all satisfactory: that must be done by somebody else, if necessary. But is it necessary? Is there not a just and proper pride in assuming that the names of those distinguished there and the leading events of the day must be known to all who can read the inscriptions?

If a reason is needed for omitting names, it might perhaps be something like No. 3.

Should any thing be put on the site of the old Monument, the following, suggested by Mr. W. A., would be simple and appropriate: —

On  
this spot  
Warren  
fell,

leaving the rest to history.

Very truly yours,

F. C. GRAY.



The following were furnished by Franklin Dexter: —

The corner-stone  
of this Monument  
was laid on the 17th June, 1825, by the  
hands of Major-General Lafayette, and  
in the presence of the survivors of the  
Battle, and on the 17th June, 1843, it  
was finished, and dedicated with the  
prayers of an assembled multitude for the  
Perpetuity of the American  
Union.

Battle of Bunker Hill,  
June 17th,  
1775.

From the Redoubt  
in this direction extended the  
Entrenchment  
where the presence and example of  
MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM  
animated his countrymen to a  
noble resistance in the cause of  
Liberty.

This Monument  
stands on the site of the Redoubt  
which was raised and bravely  
defended by a patriotic militia  
under the command of  
COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT,  
and within which was slain  
MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN,  
one of the earliest and most  
illustrious of the martyrs who  
fell in the contest for American  
Liberty.

On the 17th of May, 1849, Mr. Everett submitted the following Report to the Committee: —

It appeared to be the unanimous sense of the Committee, at the former meeting, that the inscription or inscriptions, which might be prepared for the face of the Monument, should be in the English language, and of the simplest character; confined to a brief indication of the object of the work. It seemed to be the opinion of the Committee that such facts as it may be necessary to state, in reference to the construction of the work, — in consequence of the pledges given in the course of the erection, — might with propriety be reserved for a tablet to be placed in the interior of the Monument; or in an apartment over an arched gate-way, at the entrance of the Monument Square, should the Association ever have the means of erecting such a building, and deem it expedient to do so. Suggestions were also made at the last meeting of the Committee, in favor of placing a stone to identify, with a suitable brief inscription, the remains of the intrenchment running north-eastwardly from the redoubt down the hill; and also of placing a monumental tablet, to mark the spot where General Warren fell; but the Committee came to no order on these points.

Shortly after the meeting of the 23d of February, the undersigned was favored with a sketch of inscriptions for the several faces of the Monument, kindly offered for consideration by Hon. Franklin Dexter, a member of the Committee. Five drafts of inscriptions were also sent him by Dr. Warren, drawn up with great skill by Hon. F. C. Gray, in consultation with Mr. William Appleton, a member of the Committee, and with Mr. George Ticknor. The undersigned has derived important aid from these sources.

Should it be decided by the Committee to adopt the plan of identifying the important localities in the immediate neighborhood of the Monument, there will be no need of more than one inscription on the face of the obelisk itself, the object of which, of course, would be to set forth the fact

that it is erected on the site of the redoubt. As Colonel Prescott stands in a peculiar relation to that work, as the officer detached for its erection and defence, there is nothing invidious, but an obvious propriety, in introducing his name into this inscription.

There were three Generals present on the field, not in command, but as volunteers, aiding by their counsel and example the operations of the day ; viz., Pomeroy, Putnam, and Warren. Less has been said of Pomeroy's participation in the battle than might perhaps with propriety. The anecdote of his dismounting when he came to Charlestown Neck, because he did not like to ride General Ward's horse through the raking fire of the British vessels, deserves for him the honor of being mentioned by name. Putnam's presence and activity are undoubted, though unfortunately subject to controversy. With respect to the conspicuous place due to the name of Warren, in any permanent memorial of the battle, there can be but one opinion.

Upon the whole, the undersigned is disposed to recommend that an inscription of the character mentioned above should be placed on the south side of the Monument ; that a stone should be placed at the commencement of the still remaining ridge of earth which belongs to the intrenchment ; and that the names of Pomeroy and Putnam should be mentioned in the inscription which announces its object ; and that a monumental tablet be placed on the spot, near which General Warren is known to have fallen, on the western side of the obelisk. In connection with this last suggestion, it has been thought by several persons interested in these memorials, that the remains of General Warren, which were identified a few years since, might be placed with propriety beneath the table.

With respect to those facts connected with the progress of the work which the Association is pledged to record upon the Monument, it would seem in better taste to introduce them upon a tablet to be placed within the structure ; and the chamber at its summit affords a convenient and appropriate

place. There are other interesting purposes which might lead the Directors of the Association, at some future period, should they possess the means, to erect an arch over the front entrance to the square, containing a room for the meetings of the Association and the Directors, and a place of deposit for the archives, and for relics and memorials of the battle. The walls of this room would be a very suitable place for commemorative tablets recording the origin and progress of the work. But, in want of any present means to erect such a structure, it would seem useless, on this occasion, to enter farther into detail.

With respect to the mode of executing the inscription upon the face of the Monument, the undersigned is disposed, though with considerable hesitation, to recommend that it should be placed upon a large marble tablet, — the largest that can be conveniently procured of one slab of white marble, — to be let into the face of the obelisk. The granite is of too coarse a grain for letters cut in the stone itself, like those on the Egyptian obelisks, and on the face of many marble structures of ancient Greece and Italy. Bronze letters in relief were made use of by the ancients; and the choice would lie on the present occasion — in the opinion of the undersigned — between them and a marble slab to be let into the work. Should the latter be adopted, the letters could be made distinct by gold-leaf, to be renewed from time to time if necessary.

The undersigned, with these introductory remarks, submits the following sketches for the consideration of the Committee: —

*For the South Side of the Monument.*

This Monument  
stands on the site of the redoubt,  
which was raised on the eve of the 17th June, 1775,  
and bravely defended through that eventful day,  
by a detachment of the militia of  
New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts,  
under the command of  
COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT.

*To mark the Remains of the Breast-work.*

This stone marks the still remaining traces of the breast-work, where the repeated charges of veteran troops were bravely, and for a long time successfully, resisted by the citizen soldiery of New England, animated by the presence and example of Major-Generals Pomeroy and Putnam, and their gallant associates of every rank.

*To indicate the Spot where Warren fell.*

Near this spot

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN,

a volunteer on the 17th June, 1775,

fell at the close of the battle.

His remains are deposited

beneath this stone.

[NOTE. — As it is now well known that this spot is in the street west of Monument Square, this recommendation would have been impracticable.]

*West Side.*

On the 17th of June, 1825,

Being the 50th anniversary of the battle,

The corner-stone of this enduring structure was laid,

in the presence of General Lafayette,

and a large number of the veterans of the Revolution;

On the 17th of June, 1843,

the noble pile was completed.

A vast multitude of every age and either sex,

grateful for their rich inheritance of civil and religious liberty,

and determined to transmit it to their children,

were addressed on each of these occasions,

in a manner worthy of the place, the subject, and the man, by

DANIEL WEBSTER.

*On a Tablet to be placed within the Monument:—*

An Association was formed in Boston, A.D. 1823,  
for the purpose of erecting a Monument on Bunker Hill.  
Liberal subscriptions for defraying the expense were made throughout  
the country,

But chiefly in New England, and more especially in this State.

The sum of ten thousand dollars each was contributed by  
Judah Touro of New Orleans, and Amos Lawrence of Boston :

A considerable appropriation was made by the Commonwealth,  
And the amount of thirty thousand dollars, necessary to complete the work,  
was raised by the patriotic efforts of the daughters of Massachusetts.

The services of Solomon Willard, Architect, were gratuitously rendered ;

The corner-stone of the work was laid on the 17th June, 1825,

With the assistance of Major-General Lafayette,

and in the presence of numerous survivors of the battle ;

And it was finished and dedicated on the 17th of June, 1843,

by the prayers of an immense multitude,

offered up on this sacred spot,

For the perpetuity of the American Union.

All which is respectfully submitted by

EDWARD EVERETT.

CAMBRIDGE, 17 May, 1849.

Mr. Webster was present and presided at the meeting, at which Mr. Everett, as a sub-committee, made this report. There was a considerable discussion upon the merits of the several inscriptions reported, and also of all the others that had been submitted, which were placed before the whole Committee; each one was the subject of more or less criticism. At last Mr. Webster made a few forcible remarks in his decided manner upon the impropriety of placing any inscription on the outside of the Monument; and, although they were directed to prepare one and were



A record of the history  
of this structure, with  
the names of the principle  
originators, contributors, &  
agents, inscribed on  
Parchment is herein  
deposited, for the information  
of after times —

That it is improper to  
~~add~~ any inscription on  
the outside of the Monument

Aye

This motion, made by Mr. Webster  
in his handwriting was adopted



authorized to provide a tablet for it, the better way would be to report back to the Directors a resolution to that effect. He thought that it would be well to have at some future time a brief statement engrossed upon parchment, and placed in some depository on which should be inscribed a proper title. Thereupon he took up a pen, and wrote upon a scrap of paper such a title as he would have, and also the vote for the Committee to pass. Upon reading what he had written and putting the question, the Committee adopted his suggestions without objection. Mr. Everett preserved this paper, having made an indorsement thereon.

At the meeting of Directors held June 18, 1849, Mr. Everett made an entirely different report from the one presented to the Committee, concluding with the following resolution in relation to an inscription, which was unanimously passed: —

*Resolved*, as the sense of this Board, that the great object for which the obelisk was erected on Bunker Hill is monumental, and not historical, and that it is not expedient that any record of names, dates, or events connected with the battle should be inscribed upon it.

In thus settling the question of an inscription, the Board undoubtedly carried out the prevailing idea of the original projectors, that the Monument should commemorate an ERA, to which the Battle of Bunker Hill led the way, rather than that mere event, however conspicuous in history. Towards this satisfactory result Mr. Webster chiefly contributed.

The construction of a Granite Lodge as a component part of the Monument has been under consideration since 1843. The principal difficulty in the way has been the want of agreement upon the plan of the building. The late Mr. George M. Dexter furnished a sketch of an arch, to be placed at the principal entrance for a gate-way, — having on one side a keeper's office, and on the other a large room which would serve for meetings of Directors, and for the deposit of relics and memorials. He had promised to furnish a complete working plan, but he did not live to finish his design. Mr. William S. Park, a young architect of great promise, who has since died, furnished to the Committee, having the matter in charge, complete drawings in detail, with estimates, for a granite structure, containing an office and a statue room or Memorial Hall, to be placed within the enclosure. A fund had been set apart, by vote of the Directors, specially appropriated for the erection of such an edifice; but the vote was afterwards rescinded, it being thought necessary to expend the money accumulated, amounting then to about \$20,000, in the reconstruction of the fence, and other improvements upon the Monument and grounds. These were done under the supervision of a sub-Committee of the Standing Committee, consisting of Richard Frothingham, F. W. Lincoln, John H. Thorndike, Edward Lawrence, George B. Neal, Franklin Darracott, and Osmyn Brewster.

George Peabody contributed in his lifetime \$500 to be set apart for this object; and, whenever a proper

plan and location can be determined upon, the means can readily be obtained. When this shall be accomplished, a collection of memorials and relics, and also of commemorative works of art, can be made, to which each generation will furnish its contribution. It will be in the power of the Association to establish in time one of the most interesting depositories of historical memorials in the country.

The only Revolutionary Relics that are kept within the Monument are the two cannon, called the Hancock and Adams, which were granted to the Association by the act passed February 26, 1825. The history of these field-pieces is quite interesting. They are the only remains of the field artillery belonging to the British American Colonies at the beginning of the Revolutionary war. There were originally four of them, and they were deposited in the Arsenal (or Laboratory, as it was then called), at the corner of West Street, in Boston. The town being in possession of the British Army, it was daily expected they would be seized; and how they might be rescued from this danger was a subject of anxious consideration among the patriots. A plan was contrived, and boldly executed. At the time of changing the evening guard, the British sentinel was taken off for a short time to the Common, where the guard paraded. This moment was seized by the townsmen to enter the Laboratory, and remove the four field-pieces to the adjoining school-house of Master Holbrook, where they were deposited under his writing-desk all the day following,

and escaped the search which was made for them by the British officers. At evening, they were placed in an offal cart going into the country, and were soon brought into active service. Two of the pieces were sent to Canada, and fell into the power of the British. The others were christened the Hancock and Adams, after the two leading patriots, and have found on Bunker Hill an appropriate resting-place. The inscription placed upon them by order of the Continental Congress is as follows:—

ADAMS (or) HANCOCK.

Sacred to Liberty.

This is one of the four cannon which constituted the whole train of field artillery possessed by the British Colonies of North America at the commencement of the war, on the 19th of April, 1775.

This cannon and its fellow belonged to a number of citizens of Boston; were used in many engagements during the war. The other two, the property of the government of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

By order of the United States, in Congress assembled, May 17, 1788.

The Legislature, in the same act, authorized the Governor and Council to deliver over to the Association two other cannon that had been used in the Revolutionary war. It was probably contemplated that four would be wanted to be placed at the corners of the platform of the Monument. All the plans for an obelisk showed a platform. That of Colonel Baldwin, which stands on the records adopted by a vote of the Directors, showed a platform twenty feet wide on each side of the Monument, with three steps, of the whole length, leading thereto. The obelisk, it is thought by many, cannot be deemed to be completed without such a base, which will give to

it a more elevated and majestic appearance, and will also afford a very convenient reserved space for public occasions.

The importance of having wide avenues leading to the obelisk has occupied the attention of the Association for the past thirty years. Before selling the two-thirds of the original purchase of the land, streets were reserved, fifty feet wide, facing the three sides of the Monument. Nearly one acre of land was dedicated to public use as highways, with the expectation that these would be extended by the town. On the north side, the city of Charlestown has extended the street to Mystic River. On the south side, bordering on High Street, and looking towards the most settled part of the town, the Association owned no land, except the reserved square.

In 1847, the Committee upon the grounds, consisting of the President, Joseph T. Buckingham, Robert G. Shaw, and G. Washington Warren, recommended that application be made to the then city of Charlestown to lay out a street, not less than forty-five feet wide, from High Street, in front of the Monument, to Main Street, with an offer of an annual payment from the income of the Association for a term of fifteen years. The recommendation was adopted; and negotiations were made with the city government each year until 1850, when, upon a modification, made at the request of the then mayor, Hon. Richard Frothingham, a street, forty feet wide, was laid out from High Street to Warren Street. Afterwards, in 1866, by a protracted and laborious negotiation, made with

the city government, under Hon. Charles Robinson, Jr., the Mayor, the street was continued to Main Street. Unfortunately, the original location of the street was made by the city with reference to the convenience of the landholders rather than to the Monument as a permanent object of observation. In the reduction of the width asked for by the Mayor to forty feet, the street is thrown too far to the west, so that the Monument is not in the centre.

Subsequently, a vigorous effort was made by the Association to induce the city to lay out a new avenue from City Square, sixty feet wide, to Monument Square, having the centre of the Monument in a line with the centre of the street. A strong petition of the citizens came in aid. A hearing was had before the whole board of Mayor and Aldermen, who had exclusive jurisdiction, at which the Association was represented by the President, Mr. Wheildon, and Samuel S. Willson, Esq. There was a great weight of evidence in favor of the petition. The committee of the Board reported in favor of laying out the avenue as prayed for, and as the proper continuation of Warren Avenue, leading from Warren Bridge. The measure failed by a small majority. It has been thought that Governor WINTHROP's statue might some time adorn the Avenue near where he first set up the Colonial Government.

This avenue would give a very fine view of the obelisk from a great distance, presenting, from its angular position to the street, two of its sides, so

that the effect upon the beholder would be much greater than though only one side were shown. There are now very few points from which this majestic obelisk can be seen entire, and consequently, as a consummate work of art, its effect is to a great degree lost. The Washington Monument in Baltimore is far better placed, in relation to the broad avenues leading to it. For the same reason, the Napoleon Monument in Place Vendôme, Paris, has a more imposing appearance. But, let this avenue be laid out by the Park Commissioners as a Park avenue, connecting two squares, or by the Street Commissioners, as an avenue really required for the public convenience, and the Bunker Hill Monument will show itself, when thus uncovered, as the finest monumental work in the world. The Association having done so much for the new Boston, in crowning her with this matchless work, may well require that she shall open up this desirable avenue to it.

Another consideration ought to incline the city government to make this improvement. By an examination of the assessors' valuation for the year 1876, made by Samuel S. Willson, Esq., one of the assistant assessors, it appears that the ten acres of land, which the Association disposed of for the insignificant sum of \$25,000, to relieve itself from debt, after deducting the streets, are now appraised at \$608,800, and the buildings now erected thereon are valued at \$418,000, — the whole valuation of the land and buildings amounting to \$1,026,800. An

annual tax of \$12,000 is received by the city, which it would not have received, had the Association been able to retain for the public benefit the whole of its original purchase.

In 1860, Joseph H. Buckingham, Esq., having removed from the State, resigned the office of Secretary. A Resolution of thanks to him for his long and valuable services was unanimously passed. Samuel F. McCleary, Esq., was elected to the office, which he filled to the entire satisfaction of the Association, until 1871, when Albert C. Fearing, the present incumbent, was elected, upon whom has devolved an unusual amount of arduous duty. By a recent vote, the Secretary of the Association is Secretary of the Standing Committee, and a member *ex officio*. Mr. McCleary, after his resignation as Secretary, was elected a Director. The Standing Committee, including the Secretary, now consists of sixteen members.

In 1862, a new diploma of membership was authorized; and a by-law was passed providing that new members might be admitted by vote of the Association, upon the nomination of the Directors or of the Standing Committee and the payment of five dollars. Since that time new members have been elected every year. The Diploma recites: —

BE IT MADE KNOWN by us, the President, Treasurer, and Secretary of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, instituted in 1823, for the purpose of commemorating the early events of the American Revolution by the erection of a



monument on the ground where the action of Bunker Hill was fought, and by the appropriate commemoration of the glorious anniversary of the 17TH OF JUNE, 1775, that ——— has been admitted to be a member of this Association.

In witness whereof we have signed our names to this Diploma on this      day of      , in the year of our Lord      , and of the Independence of the United States of America the      .

An examination of the Roll of Officers of the Association, with their terms of service, will show how many of the leading citizens of Boston, several of whom were conspicuous in public life, have given their aid and counsel at the call of this commemorative society. Mr. Everett, whether in the different exalted offices he successively held, or in private station, which he equally adorned, served in one way or another the Association from its formation to his death, an unbroken period of forty-two years. The Russells, father and son, have furnished a signal example of the faithful and long-continued discharge of a high official trust. William Tudor died abroad a few years after the enterprise, which he was the first to suggest, had been commenced. General H. A. S. Dearborn, also, after filling the office of Adjutant-General of the State, and of Mayor of Roxbury, severed at a later period his connection. He died in Portland, Maine, July 29, 1851.

Of those now living it may be proper to refer to two: Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the senior Vice-President, who has always evinced the deepest interest in the proper administration of the affairs of the

Association, and of the right direction of its aims. He has most acceptably graced one public celebration with his eloquence, and is still depended upon for future occasions. Uriel Crocker, Esq., has been in the government for forty-four years, the longest period of service attained by any, with the single exception of Mr. Theophilus R. Marvin, who was elected the same year with him, 1833. Mr. Crocker, as an officer of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, disbursed all the moneys in the building of the Monument while in charge of that patriotic ally. Since that period, he has rendered important service as a Director, Vice-President, and a member of the Standing Committee, while at the same time he has discharged many high trusts, and has filled a protracted life with good deeds. Others have shown equal interest during their terms. In several instances, the sons have been chosen to succeed to their fathers, and in some cases even to the third generation.

Honorary members have also been elected from the most distinguished men in the country, not residents of Massachusetts. By these means, and by its traditional influence, the Association has assured its perpetuity.

The annual meeting for the year 1875, in consequence of the great Centennial Celebration, was, by special vote, postponed to June 23, when the President, in his address, declined re-election, having filled the office for twenty-eight years, and after







*Daniel Crooker*



eleven years' previous service as Director and Secretary. His place was filled by the choice of Richard Frothingham, who had been a Director since 1840, and for several years a member of the Standing Committee. The late President was elected a Director, and was continued upon the Standing Committee. On motion of Rev. Dr Samuel K. Lothrop, seconded by Hon. Joseph M. Wightman, a Resolution was passed, extending to him "the thanks of the Association for his long, faithful, and devoted services as its President."

At the same meeting, the newly elected President, Abbott Lawrence, Henry Walker, Charles F. Fairbanks, and J. Collins Warren were appointed a committee to procure subscriptions for a statue in honor of Colonel William Prescott, to be placed, under the direction of the Standing Committee, on Bunker Hill. Mr. Winthrop had also, in a letter written when abroad, suggested that the Association should, at some future time, undertake to provide a statue of Lafayette. An original portrait of the General was purchased lately by Mr. Russell, the present Treasurer, while in Paris, in 1875, which now adorns the statue room of the Association.

Enough work has been laid out, as herein indicated, and as set forth in the published "Proceedings" for the last fifteen years, to occupy the attention of the Association for the future; nor, indeed, will its mission as a commemorative society be ended as long as this great Republic shall continue to revere

the memory of its noble founders, and shall desire to hold up conspicuous examples of patriotism and illustrious service to the admiration of mankind.

In no better way can this imperfect history of the Association be concluded than by giving a brief account of the important Pendulum experiment made at the Monument in 1850, under the direction of Professors Eben Norton Horsford and William C. Bond, then connected with Harvard University.

M. Léon Foucault, a distinguished natural philosopher, born in Paris in 1819, had found out that the diurnal rotation of the earth upon its axis could be demonstrated by the swing of a long pendulum, and had perfectly succeeded in its illustration. These professors desired to test this experiment in the newel or well of the Monument. The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association joined in the request, appointed Mr. Frederic H. Stimpson and Hon. Joseph M. Wightman, who were also Directors of the Monument Association, a committee, and offered to pay all the expenses of the necessary arrangements. Upon motion of Mr. Everett, the request was granted. The assent of King Solomon's Lodge was readily obtained for the temporary removal of their marble monument, which stood in the way of the trial, to a position in the Monument on the right of the entrance.

As if to signalize the place of the experiment, the ball used for the pendulum was one of those Revolu-



tionary balls which had been fired from one of the British ships of war,—probably the “Lively,”—on the 17th June, 1775. It weighed about thirty-one pounds—originally thirty-two,—having lost something by abrasion and the rust of time. It was supported in a brass meridian, to which was attached an equatorial ring, with adjusting screws for bringing the centre of gravity directly in line with the pointer below and the point of suspension above, and was suspended by an annealed wire two hundred and ten feet long, the lower end of which was secured to the brass meridian, and the upper end to a staple in the roof of the chamber at the top of the Monument.

To prevent currents of air from affecting the motion of the pendulum, the grating above was replaced by a plank floor; and the wire passing through the chamber was encased in a square wooden trunk, with panes of glass on opposite sides for observing the very small arc described by the pendulum wire at this height. It was also found necessary, in order to preserve the quiet of the air, to close the ventilating port-holes opening into the well along the course of the circular stairway, and replace the iron-lattice gate at the bottom with plate-glass doors.

A smooth wooden floor was laid at the bottom of the shaft, from the centre of which, directly beneath the point of suspension, three broad circles were described, and painted white. These circles were graduated into 360 degrees, which were figured, for convenience of observation, counting from the right. For more careful observation, a flat wooden ring was

erected about four feet above the floor, with a brass sight on the farther side, and a corresponding sight at the extremity of an arm on the nearer side, which was so arranged as to revolve around the axis of the plane of oscillation. This ring rested upon marbles, and could be adjusted by movable friction wheels placed outside the ring upon the inner wall of the Monument. With the aid of these compass sights, the rotation of the plane of oscillation became apparent in less time than if the point at the bottom of the ball were observed, for the reason that the view was confined to a fine definite line, and also that the distance of the nearer sight from the centre was five feet, while the radius of the graduated arc on the floor was rather less than three and a half feet. The sight through which the observation was made was moved by a small geared wheel upon a graduated arc of brass placed in the door-way; and such was the nicety of the adjustment that the progress of the plane of oscillation could be noticed in a single vibration of the pendulum.

The mode of starting the pendulum was that adopted by Foucault. The ball being drawn to the margin of the circle, and secured by a thread, was permitted to come entirely to rest. When this was attained, which required but a minute or two, the thread was burned and the pendulum launched.

When the pendulum was put in motion in the manner above described, the progress of the plane of oscillation soon became quite apparent, moving steadily from the right toward the left of the observer.

As the progress made was about one degree in six minutes, in half an hour it would traverse over about five degrees of the graduated circle. The pendulum would continue to vibrate an hour or more from the time of starting. An entire revolution of the plane of oscillation, in this latitude, would be accomplished, if the motion were uniform and could be kept up, in about thirty-five and a half hours, according to the calculation of Professor Horsford.

The whole experiment was eminently successful, and highly interesting to the great numbers who witnessed it. Professor Horsford devised and superintended all these arrangements, and made frequent and careful observations. In doing this, he noticed a new phenomenon, of which he has, by request, furnished the following interesting account for this publication: —

Soon after the pendulum was in place, it was observed from time to time that the spindle below the bob, instead of resting directly over the centre of the floor of the well, to which point it was first adjusted, was found on one side or the other of this point. Upon observing more closely, it was found that the spindle was to the north of the centre soon after mid-day, and to the east of the centre at evening. While engaged just after noon, on one very bright warm day, in accurately marking the position of the spindle, it happened that a sudden shower of rain struck the south side of the Monument, and at the same instant the spindle moved southward through a space of about a quarter of an inch. It was obvious at a glance that the shower striking the more heated side of the Monument had cooled it, and of course contracted it. The effect of the previous heat had been to expand the more exposed side of the Monument, and so carry the point of sus-

pension of the pendulum near the summit to the north. The bob and spindle took position vertically below. The effect of the shower and evaporation following was to cool the southerly side of the Monument and shorten it, and so carry the point of suspension of the pendulum toward the south.

This movement of the shaft may be thus illustrated: If two iron rods of equal length, uniting at the top, and but a short distance apart at the bottom, be arranged to represent the north and south sides of the Monument, and a pendulum be suspended from the point of union, and the rod representing the north side be incased in a wrapper of non-conducting material throughout its length, to protect it from the sun, while that representing the south side is exposed to the sun, the latter will be heated and expand, and become longer while the former will remain unchanged, and so the top be carried over to the north, and with it the pendulum, so that the spindle at the bottom will sweep in the same direction. One can readily imagine the expansion of the southerly rod so great as to cause the northerly rod to incline to the north, in which case the pendulum would no longer swing between the two rods, but outside and to the north of them.

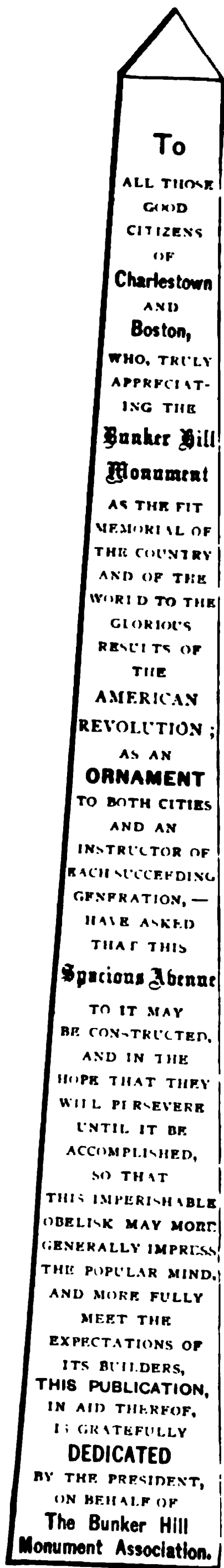
The changing positions of the spindle found a ready explanation in the unequal heating of the sides of the Monument. The morning sun expanded the easterly side of the Monument, increasing its length as compared with the westerly side, and so tipping the shaft a little to the west. The bob and spindle took position immediately below the point of suspension. At noon, under the influence of the mid-day sun, the Monument inclined to the north, and the spindle moved in accordance with it; and at evening the movement was to the east. During the night, in the absence of the sun, the more heated sides of the Monument cooled to the temperature of the surrounding air, and assumed what may be considered their normal relations.

A pencil attached to the bob was made for some days to trace, on paper fixed to the floor, the rotation of the summit of the Monument. The orbits were what may perhaps be

called irregularly elliptical, as might have been expected from the conditions. The base of the shaft was square, and presenting no face to the meridian. It was heated during sunshine on each of three sides more than on the fourth. The greatest diameter of the orbit as described by the pencil but little exceeded half an inch. The mark made during the night was almost a straight line, somewhat like the chord to three-fourths of a circle.

It was a good thought of Professor Horsford to borrow from his friend and neighbor, Dr. Morrill Wyman, that hostile missile of the olden time and employ it in aid of scientific experiments. No better place on which to demonstrate that the earth moves than Bunker Hill, whose Monument is one of its landmarks from which a great movement in the political and moral world may be dated. What would not Galileo have given, and what would not the world have gained, if he could only have pursued his philosophical investigations unmolested under the freedom and inspiration which that hallowed name assures!

As the solid Monument, obedient to a natural law, sways to the sun in his daily course, and resumes its perfect position in the cool of the night, so may the national heart, whether in prosperous or adverse times, beat in unison with the Monument in every vicissitude, and may future historians have the happiness to record abundant instances of the continual progress and honorable example of the Republic in the *succeeding centuries*.



This Dedication was inserted in the publication upon the Avenue, and in the "Proceedings" of subsequent years.

---

## MEMORABILIA.









.....

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

14  
15



## IN MEMORIAM.

---

THE first great loss brought home to the Association occurred in the decease of NATHANIEL POPE RUSSELL, its faithful Treasurer from the beginning. At the Annual Meeting held June 18, 1849, on motion of Mr. Everett, it was

*Resolved*, That the President of the Association be requested to address a letter to the family of the late Hon. N. P. Russell, Treasurer of the Association from its first organization, expressive of the grateful sense entertained by its officers and members of the value of his long and important services, and of their high respect for his memory.

A special meeting of the Directors was called, on October 27, 1852, to express the sentiments of the Board on the bereavement which had been experienced in the death of DANIEL WEBSTER. The President presented for their consideration the following Resolutions:—

*Resolved*, That the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association do most sincerely sympathize in the general grief which has overwhelmed the country in the NATIONAL loss which it has so unexpectedly been called upon to bear, by which sad event one of the founders and progenitors of the great work of the Association has been removed from earth; the memory of whose undying eloquence, uttered before a vast multitude on Bunker Hill, at the laying of the corner-stone of the Monument, and also at its completion, will be for ever identified with that imperishable memorial to the cause of Republican Liberty.

*Resolved*, That the eminent public services of the illustrious deceased, rendered throughout his whole life, constantly, in full measure, and with the most cordial readiness, at the sacrifice of his personal interest, furnish the best example of that high aim which he so eloquently set forth

to his countrymen ; for his whole life was to his country, his whole country, and nothing but his country.

*Resolved*, That, in respect to the memory of Daniel Webster, the Monument be dressed with appropriate badges of mourning, for the space of thirty days ; and that it be recommended to the officers and members of the Association to wear the usual badge of mourning upon the left arm, for the same term.

These Resolutions were unanimously adopted ; and the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, with Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, Hon. Nathan Hale, Hon. Albert Fearing, Joseph Tilden, Henry Forster, and Henry A. Peirce, were appointed a delegation to attend the funeral of the deceased at Marshfield. For the first and only time, the Monument was dressed in mourning ; and the individual members of the Association, generally, joined in a like manifestation of sorrow.

At the Annual Meeting in 1853, the President referred, in his Address, to the decease of AMOS LAWRENCE, ROBERT G. SHAW, THOMAS B. WALES, DAVID FRANCIS, and BENJAMIN THOMPSON, in the following terms : —

AMOS LAWRENCE, another of the founders and of the early friends of the Association, has since been removed from this stage of being. He will always deserve to be remembered as one who has appropriated more of his means and of his time to the forwarding of the great work of the Association than perhaps any other individual. At a period when its affairs seemed desperate, when the erection of the Monument was suspended for the want of means and none seemed to be in prospect, he did not turn his back upon the enterprise, nor slacken in his efforts. He was determined that the Monument should be finished ; and he had provided the means which would have insured it, had it not been erected in his lifetime.

He made the Monument his adopted child ; and his name should always be associated with it as one of the foremost of its builders.

During the last year, four of the Directors chosen at the last Annual Meeting have also died : ROBERT G. SHAW, THOMAS B. WALES, DAVID FRANCIS, and BENJAMIN THOMPSON.

Mr. Shaw, for a great number of years, was an efficient and active member of the Board. He was a constant attendant at the meetings, and has been a liberal contributor to the Association. He was on many

important committees, and rendered valuable service. He was on the committee for opening the new street,—an object in which he expressed the warmest interest, and which he did much to promote.

Mr. Wales, who has lately deceased, was also a liberal contributor, and for many years a Director. He kept up his interest in the prosperity of the Association to the last, and was always ready to render his aid and assistance.

Mr. Francis has been a Director for many years, and an efficient co-operator in the objects of the Association.

Mr. Thompson, who, although one of the earliest members of the Association, was recently elected one of the Board of Directors, was prevented by his public duties in Congress from attending any of its meetings.

It is, however, a gratifying reflection, that, while all who designed this undertaking, and who from time to time contributed their means and their time and efforts to its accomplishment, must await the final doom of mortality, this great work, which so much engaged their interest, will endure, and be a perpetual memorial of the patriotism of those who reared it, as well as of the glorious event it will ever commemorate.

At the Annual Meeting in 1854, on motion of Hon. Richard Frothingham, the following was adopted:—

Whereas, since the last meeting of this Association, one of the earliest and most liberal contributors to the objects for which it was established has deceased,

*Resolved*, That in the death of JUDAH TOURO, of New Orleans, the Bunker Hill Monument Association has lost an early, liberal, and devoted friend, whose memory will ever be held in high esteem, and whose noble contributions to charitable and patriotic purposes will never be forgotten.

At the Annual Meeting in 1856, Mr. Everett, being unable to attend, sent the following letter and Resolution, upon the death of Dr. JOHN COLLINS WARREN. On motion of Isaac Harris, the Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Boston, 16th June, 1856.

DEAR SIR,—I much regret that it is not in my power to attend the meeting of the Bunker Hill Monument Association this morning. I was particularly desirous of being present, that I might join in giving utterance to that deep regret which we all feel at the loss, since our

last Annual Meeting, of one of the earliest, most persevering, and most efficient members and Directors of the Association. I allude, of course, sir, to the late Dr. John C. Warren; of whom I think it is but justice to say, that to him, more than to any other individual, the Bunker Hill Monument owes its existence. He was one of the very first that engaged in the undertaking. Occupied, as he was, with the duties of a most laborious profession, he gave his time and his unremitted attention to the work. No detail of business, however humble, was beneath him, and he shunned no responsibility. Many difficulties were overcome by his patience and judicious management. He never allowed the obstacles which retarded the progress of the work — and they were numerous and great — to discourage him; and he devoted his time and thoughts to it, when it stood one-fourth part only built, burdened with a debt which there were no visible means to pay, — a premature ruin rather than a structure hopefully advancing to its completion, — as cheerfully as he did in the freshness of its early popularity. Without underrating the zeal of others or the value of their services, it seemed to me, on more than one occasion, that, but for the firmness and resolution of Dr. Warren, it would have remained for the next generation to carry on and finish the Monument.

Undoubtedly, he had an interest in the structure which no one else could feel, in consequence of his relationship with the patriot martyr of the day, his uncle, General Joseph Warren. If this circumstance augmented the zeal with which he exerted himself for the promotion of the great work, no one will think it a matter of wonder or blame. If it increased his interest in the Monument, it imposed no little restraint upon him. I can truly say, that, intimately as I was associated with him, in the early period of the undertaking, as a member of the Executive Committee, I never saw in him the slightest attempt to make the Monument in any way minister to family feeling. I am sure that he was the member of the Committee by whom the name of General Warren was least frequently mentioned. He ever appeared to me, in this respect, to be influenced by the most scrupulous delicacy. He took a patriotic interest in the work, and was evidently desirous that it should be a memorial of all the honored names which history has associated with the 17th of June; and, as far as possible, of the brave men who fell in the ranks, and whose devotion to the country was not the less meritorious because they are not prominently recorded in its annals.

Dr. Warren had investigated the localities of Bunker Hill, and the vestiges of the battle, with greater care and pains than any other per-



son; and it was owing to his attention that some of them have been identified, and marked by permanent memorials.

I feel, sir, a melancholy satisfaction in paying this last tribute to the memory of one with whom, for a period of nearly fifty years, in the most confidential relations, — those of “beloved physician” and constant friend, — I have to my great happiness been intimately associated. I regret only that the state of my health has not permitted me to be present at the meeting, and do better justice to the subject and to my feelings.

I remain, dear sir, with much regard, sincerely yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

HON. G. WASHINGTON WARREN.

*Resolved*, That the members of the Bunker Hill Monument Association deeply lament the loss sustained by them, since their last Annual Meeting, in the decease of one of the earliest members and Directors of the Association, the late Dr. WARREN; that they recognize him as one of the most efficient, judicious, and liberal promoters and benefactors of the undertaking; and they desire to place on their records the most emphatic attestation to the value of his services, from the commencement to the completion of the Monument.

There were also passed at the same meeting the following Resolutions: —

*Resolved* (on motion of Hon. Richard Frothingham), That the Members of this Association lament the decease of Hon. ABBOTT LAWRENCE, who was, from the first, a warm friend and liberal contributor to the enterprise of building the Bunker Hill Monument; and that they will hold in grateful memory the services he has rendered in this work.

*Resolved* (on motion of Amos A. Lawrence), That this Association deeply lament the decease of DAVID DEVENS, for many years a respected and valued member, and one of its Directors.

The lives and services of these three were also dwelt upon at length in the President's address.

On August 14, 1857, Hon. FRANKLIN DEXTER died. He was born in Charlestown, Nov. 5, 1793, and was the son of Hon. Samuel Dexter, who had been Senator of the United States, Secretary of War, and afterwards of the Treasury, under the first President Adams, and was the foremost lawyer of his

time. Mr. Franklin Dexter succeeded William Tudor as Secretary, and his name as such is borne on the first diploma. He was an eminent lawyer; and, when Mr. Webster was Secretary of State, he was appointed United States District Attorney for Massachusetts. He was much devoted to art, and his opinion as a connoisseur was considered authority. When Benjamin Stevens, the popular Serjeant-at-Arms of the Legislature, was directed to cause the exterior of the State House to be painted, he left the determination of the color to Mr. Dexter, as the first man of taste; who took great pains in the selection, mixing the paints himself, and contrasting different shades by moonlight, until he got the exact hue which satisfied him. In his later years, he warmly espoused the liberal side in the embittered controversy of that time, and he published several very valuable articles on political subjects and upon matters of art. At the Annual Meeting in 1858, the President referred to his valuable services to the Association; and, on motion of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, it was

*Resolved*, That the Bunker Hill Monument Association cordially respond to the just tribute which has been paid, in the report of the President, to the character and accomplishments of our late Associate and friend, the Hon. FRANKLIN DEXTER; and that we will ever cherish an affectionate respect for his memory.

At the same meeting, on motion of Hon. Joseph M. Wightman, President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, it was

*Resolved*, That the Bunker Hill Monument Association regret to record the decease, since the last Annual Meeting, of GEORGE W. OTIS, Esq., a faithful and useful member of the Board of Directors for many years.

At the Annual Meeting in 1860, the President announced the decease, during the preceding year, of Col. BENJAMIN LORING and JAMES CLARK, Esq., two of the Directors, who were universally esteemed for their patriotism, integrity, and general philanthropy.

Since 1860, the Proceedings of the Annual Meetings have been published in a durable form, and may be referred to for extended notices of the officers of the Association who have died since that year. Resolutions were offered, in 1861, by Hon F. W. Lincoln, Jr., to the memory of Ex-President JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM; in 1862, by Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, for Hon. NATHAN APPLETON and Hon. WILLIAM APPLETON, and by Dr. J. Mason Warren, for Dr. LUTHER V. BELL; in 1863, by William W. Wheildon, Esq., seconded by Hon. Richard Frothingham, for Hon. NATHAN HALE; in 1864, by Mr. Frothingham, for ASA SWALLOW, Esq.

In 1865, an elegant and appropriate tribute was paid to the memory of EDWARD EVERETT, by Mr. Winthrop; and a Resolution was offered by Dr. Henry Lyon, on the decease of JAMES K. FROTHINGHAM. In 1866, Resolutions were offered by Mr. Winthrop, for Hon. CHARLES WELLS; by Mr. Lincoln, for GEORGE DARRACOTT and for HENRY N. HOOPER; by Uriel Crocker, Esq., for JOHN P. THORNDIKE; and by Dr. J. Mason Warren, for Dr. ABRAHAM R. THOMPSON; in 1867, by Mr. Lincoln, for Hon. STEPHEN FAIRBANKS; and by John H. Thorndike, Esq., for G. HOWLAND SHAW: in 1868, by Dr. Winslow Lewis, for Dr. JOHN HOMANS; by Benjamin T. Reed, for JAMES W. PAIGE; by Mr. Wheildon, for EBEN BARKER; by Hon. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, for Dr. J. MASON WARREN.

Resolutions were reported by a committee, consisting of Col. Thomas Aspinwall, Mr. Lincoln, and Col. James W. Sever, to the memory of Ex-President Hon. LEVI LINCOLN.

In 1869, Resolutions were offered by Mr. Lincoln, on the death of ISAAC HARRIS: in 1870, by Mr. Henry K. Frothingham, on LYNDE A. HUNTINGTON: in 1871, by Mr. Lincoln, on Hon. DAVID SEARS and Col. JAMES W. SEVER; by Mr. Winthrop, on GEORGE TICKNOR; and by Dr. Lyon, on PETER HUBBELL: in 1872, by Mr. Lincoln, on THOMAS B. CURTIS: in 1873, by Mr. Lincoln, on NATHANIEL HAMMOND and Col. ISAAC H. HARRIS; by Mr. Wheildon, a tribute to Mrs. HARRISON GRAY OTIS; and by Hon. Charles Devens,

Jr., upon Gen. GEORGE G. MEADE, an Honorary Member : in 1874, by Mr. Wheildon, on CHARLES WHITLOCK MOORE ; by Mr. Lincoln, on FREDERICK H. STIMPSON ; by Mr. Russell, the Treasurer, on BENJAMIN TYLER REED ; and by Col. Henry Walker, on Rear-Admiral JOHN A. WINSLOW, an Honorary Member.

In 1875, Hon. Thomas C. Amory presented Resolutions on the decease of Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF ; Hon. Otis Norcross, upon CHARLES LEIGHTON ; Hon. F. W. Lincoln, upon ALBERT FEARING ; and Dr. C. D. Homans, upon JAMES LAWRENCE.

In 1876, Mr. Warren paid a tribute to the memory of Dr. WINSLOW LEWIS, who had the merited honor of wearing, in the grand procession and celebration of the First Centennial Anniversary, the very same Masonic apron which Lafayette had worn at the first celebration, fifty years before.

Since the last meeting, Col. THOMAS ASPINWALL, the veteran hero, the scholar, and the gentleman of the old school, has died ; whose name will be affectionately remembered, and associated with the celebration of 1857, as its Grand Marshal.

Honorable mention was also made at the time, by the President, in his addresses, of the important services rendered by those deceased. All which, with the Resolutions, appears in the printed Proceedings of the Association.

# ROLL OF OFFICERS

ELECTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETINGS IN JUNE, WITH THEIR  
TERMS OF CONTINUOUS SERVICE.

N.B. The names of those who died in office are denoted by an asterisk (\*) placed against the year of their decease. Those against whose names there is —, instead of the date of a year, in the last column, are still in office.

## Presidents.

JOHN BROOKS . . . . .	1823-25*
DANIEL WEBSTER . . . . .	1825-27
THOMAS H. PERKINS . . . . .	1827-29
LEVI LINCOLN . . . . .	1829-30
WILLIAM PRESCOTT . . . . .	1830-31
ABNER PHELPS . . . . .	1831-32
WILLIAM PRESCOTT . . . . .	1832-36
JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM . . . . .	1836-47
G. WASHINGTON WARREN . . . . .	1847-75
RICHARD FROTHINGHAM . . . . .	1875 —

## Vice-Presidents.

THOMAS H. PERKINS . . . . .	1823-27
JOSEPH STORY . . . . .	1823-29
WILLIAM PRESCOTT . . . . .	1827-29
AMOS LAWRENCE . . . . .	1829-30
JOHN C. WARREN . . . . .	1829-31
JOHN C. WARREN . . . . .	1832-51*
WILLIAM SULLIVAN . . . . .	1830-31

JOHN D. WILLIAMS . . . . .	1831-32
GEORGE ODIORNE . . . . .	1831-32
WILLIAM SULLIVAN . . . . .	1832-35
PRESIDENT MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE	
MECHANIC ASSOCIATION, <i>ex officio</i> . . .	1833 —
SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG . . . . .	1833-39
CHARLES WELLS . . . . .	1833-66*
JOSEPH JENKINS . . . . .	1835-40
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL . . . . .	1839-45*
GEORGE C. SHATTUCK . . . . .	1840-54*
ABBOTT LAWRENCE . . . . .	1845-56*
JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM . . . . .	1855-61*
EDWARD EVERETT . . . . .	1856-65*
ROBERT C. WINTHROP . . . . .	1856—
STEPHEN FAIRBANKS . . . . .	1861-66*
THOMAS ASPINWALL . . . . .	1865-76*
CHARLES LEIGHTON . . . . .	1866-75*
ISAAC HARRIS . . . . .	1867-69*
URIEL CROCKER . . . . .	1869 —
CHARLES DEVENS, JR. . . . .	1875 —

## Secretaries.

WILLIAM TUDOR . . . . .	1823-24
FRANKLIN DEXTER . . . . .	1824-25
EDWARD EVERETT . . . . .	1825-29
HENRY A. S. DEARBORN . . . . .	1829-30
EDWARD G. PRESCOTT . . . . .	1830-31
WILLIAM MARSTON . . . . .	1831-32
EDWARD G. PRESCOTT . . . . .	1832-36
FRANCIS O. WATTS . . . . .	1836-39
G. WASHINGTON WARREN . . . . .	1839-47
JOSEPH H. BUCKINGHAM . . . . .	1847-60
SAMUEL F. McCLEARY . . . . .	1860-71
ANDREW C. FEARING, JR. . . . .	1871 —

*Treasurers.*

NATHANIEL P. RUSSELL . . . . .	1823-48*
SAMUEL H. RUSSELL . . . . .	1849 —

*Standing Committee, 1876-77.*

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *President*.  
 G. WASHINGTON WARREN.  
 WILLIAM W. WHEILDON.  
 FREDERIC W. LINCOLN.  
 ROBERT C. WINTHROP.  
 SAMUEL H. RUSSELL.  
 FRANKLIN DARRACOTT.  
 JOHN H. THORNDIKE.  
 HENRY LYON.  
 URIEL CROCKER.  
 CHARLES DEVENS, JR.  
 GEORGE B. NEAL.  
 OSMYN BREWSTER.  
 EDWARD LAWRENCE.  
 HENRY WALKER.  
 ALBERT C. FEARING, JR., *Secretary ex officio*.

*Vice-Presidents, ex officio.*

## AS PRESIDENTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE MECHANIC ASSOCIATION.

JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM	1833-35	FREDERIC W. LINCOLN	1854-57
STEPHEN FAIRBANKS .	1835-38	JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN	1857-60
GEORGE DARRACOTT .	1838-40	PELHAM BONNEY . .	1860-61*
JOSEPH LEWIS . . . .	1840-43	FREDERIC H. STIMPSON	1861-64
JAMES CLARK . . . .	1843-45	JOSEPH T. BAILEY . .	1864-67
GEORGE G. SMITH . .	1845-48	JONAS FITCH . . . .	1867-70
HENRY N. HOOPER . .	1848-51	ALBERT J. WRIGHT . .	1870-73
JONAS CHICKERING . .	1851-54	NATHANIEL ADAMS . .	1873-76
JOSEPH F. PAUL . . . .	1876 —		

## Directors.

WITH THEIR TERMS OF SERVICE.

The names of the DIRECTORS, HONORARY MEMBERS, and ASSOCIATE MEMBERS are, for convenience, arranged in the alphabetical order of their Christian names; the surnames being arranged under their initial letters.

A.		JOSIAH BRADLEE . . . 1832-55*	
DANIEL WELLS ALVORD	1853-57	JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM	1832-36
JONATHAN ADAMS . . .	1831-32	JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM	1847-55
JAMES S. AMORY . . .	1840 —	LOAMMI BALDWIN . . .	1824-29
NATHAN APPLETON . . .	1825-29	LOAMMI BALDWIN . . .	1830-32
NATHAN APPLETON . . .	1831-62*	LUTHER V. BELL . . .	1856-62*
SAMUEL T. ARMSTRONG	1830-31	NATHANIEL J. BRADLEE	1875 —
THOMAS G. APPLETON .	1862 —	NATHAN BRIDGE . . .	1829-30
THOMAS ASPINWALL . .	1857-65	OSMYN BREWSTER . . .	1860 —
WILLIAM APPLETON . .	1840-62*	PETER C. BROOKS . . .	1824-25
WILLIAM APPLETON . .	1862 —	T. QUINCY BROWNE . .	1874 —
WILLIAM AUSTIN . . .	1829-30	WILLIAM BLAKE . . .	1840-62
WILLIAM AUSTIN . . .	1831-32	WILLIAM B. BREED . .	1831-32
B.		C.	
AMOS BINNEY . . . .	1829-30	CHARLES R. CODMAN . .	1873 —
AMOS BINNEY . . . .	1840-47*	HENRY H. CHILD . . .	1823-24
DANIEL C. BAKER . . .	1854-58	JAMES CLARK . . . .	1836-60*
EBENEZER BREED . . .	1829-51*	JOHN COTTON . . . .	1833-38
EBEN BARKER . . . .	1838-68*	SAMUEL CHANDLER . . .	1843-49
EBEN F. BARKER . . .	1868-75	SAMUEL C. COBB . . .	1869 —
EDWARD T. BARKER . .	1875 —	THOMAS B. CURTIS . .	1832-72*
EDWARD BROOKS . . .	1828-29	URIEL CROCKER . . .	1833-69
EDWARD BROOKS . . .	1840 —		
GEORGE BLAKE . . . .	1823-29	D.	
GEORGE W. BRIMMER .	1827-29	CHARLES DEVENS, Jr. .	1868-75
JOHN B. BROWN . . .	1832-40	DAVID DEVENS . . . .	1829-55*
JOSEPH P. BRADLEE . .	1833-36	EZRA DYER . . . . .	1833-40



FRANKLIN DARRACOTT . . . 1866 —  
 FRANKLIN DEXTER . . . 1823-24  
 FRANKLIN DEXTER . . . 1849-57\*  
 F. GORDON DEXTER . . . 1858 —  
 GEORGE DARRACOTT . . . 1829-32  
 GEORGE DARRACOTT . . . 1833-65\*  
 H. A. S. DEARBORN . . . 1823-40  
 ISAAC P. DAVIS . . . 1823-28  
 ISAAC P. DAVIS . . . 1839-40  
 JAMES DANA . . . 1870 —  
 JOHN B. DAVIS . . . 1828-29  
 JOHN B. DAVIS . . . 1830-31

## E.

EDWARD EVERETT . . . 1823-25  
 EDWARD EVERETT . . . 1830-56  
 HENRY H. EDES . . . 1875 —  
 SAMUEL A. ELIOT . . . 1840-41  
 THOMAS EDMANDS . . . 1833-40  
 WILLIAM H. ELIOT . . . 1830-32

## F.

ALBERT FEARING . . . 1840-75\*  
 AMOS FARNSWORTH . . . 1831-32  
 BENJAMIN V. FRENCH . . . 1829-32  
 CHARLES F. FAIRBANKS . . . 1867 —  
 DAVID FRANCIS . . . 1833-53\*  
 HENRY K. FROTHINGHAM . . . 1865 —  
 HENRY P. FAIRBANKS . . . 1849-54\*  
 HENRY FORSTER . . . 1840-55  
 JAMES K. FROTHINGHAM . . . 1830-40  
 JAMES K. FROTHINGHAM . . . 1841-64\*  
 JONATHAN FRENCH . . . 1831-32  
 JOHN FORRESTER . . . 1832-40  
 RICHARD FLETCHER . . . 1840-41  
 RICHARD FROTHINGHAM . . . 1840-75  
 STEPHEN FAIRBANKS . . . 1833-61  
 TIMOTHY FULLER . . . 1831-32

## G.

BENJAMIN GLEASON . . . 1829-30  
 BENJAMIN GORHAM . . . 1823-28  
 CHARLES G. GREENE . . . 1838-50  
 HARRISON GRAY . . . 1833-40

HENRY GASSETT . . . 1831-32  
 JOHN C. GRAY . . . 1839-40  
 NATHANIEL GREENE . . . 1833-49  
 THOMAS J. GOODWIN . . . 1828-35

## H.

CHARLES HALE . . . 1863 —  
 CHARLES D. HOMANS . . . 1866 —  
 DAVID HENSHAW . . . 1829-30  
 EPHRAIM HARRINGTON . . . 1836-40  
 HENRY N. HOOPER . . . 1861-65\*  
 ISAAC HARRIS . . . 1833-67  
 ISAAC H. HOOPER . . . 1866-73\*  
 JACOB HALE . . . 1831-32  
 JOHN HARRIS . . . 1830-40  
 JOHN HARRIS . . . 1846-54\*  
 JOHN HOMANS . . . 1862-68\*  
 JOHN T. HEARD . . . 1876 —  
 JOSEPH HURD . . . 1823-24  
 JOSEPH HURD . . . 1829-30  
 LYNDE A. HUNTINGTON . . . 1854-69\*  
 NATHAN HALE . . . 1830-63\*  
 NATHANIEL HAMMOND . . . 1830-73\*  
 PETER HUBBELL . . . 1847-71\*  
 RICHARD HAUGHTON . . . 1840-41  
 SAMUEL D. HARRIS . . . 1823-29

## J.

FRANCIS JACKSON . . . 1833-35  
 WILLIAM JACKSON . . . 1829-30  
 WILLIAM JACKSON . . . 1831-32  
 JOSEPH JENKINS . . . 1833-35

## K.

SETH KNOWLES . . . 1823-29

## L.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE . . . 1829-30  
 ABBOTT LAWRENCE . . . 1832-43  
 ABBOTT LAWRENCE . . . 1844-45  
 ABBOTT LAWRENCE . . . 1875 —  
 AMOS LAWRENCE . . . 1825-29  
 AMOS LAWRENCE . . . 1831-32  
 AMOS A. LAWRENCE . . . 1840 —  
 BENJAMIN LORING . . . 1839-58\*

CHARLES LEIGHTON . . . 1833-66  
 CHARLES LYMAN . . . 1853 —  
 EDWARD LAWRENCE . . . 1858 —  
 FREDERICK W. LINCOLN 1856 —  
 HENRY LEE . . . . 1839-40  
 HENRY LYON . . . . 1866 —  
 ISAAC LIVERMORE . . . 1840 —  
 JAMES LAWRENCE . . . 1856-75\*  
 JAMES LEE, Jr. . . . 1854 —  
 JOHN J. LOW . . . . 1840-41  
 LEVI LINCOLN . . . . 1823-24  
 SAMUEL LAWRENCE . . . 1823-32  
 SAMUEL K. LOTHROP . . 1864 —  
 THEODORE LYMAN, Jr. . 1823-29  
 WILLIAM R. LAWRENCE 1855 —  
 WINSLOW LEWIS . . . 1862-76\*

## M.

CHARLES MERRIAM . . . 1866 —  
 CHARLES W. MOORE . . . 1854-73\*  
 DANIEL MESSENGER . . . 1833-40  
 DAVID L. MORRILL . . . 1824-27  
 EPHRAIM MARSH . . . . 1829-30  
 EZRA MUDGE . . . . 1829-30  
 JAMES MCALLISTER . . . 1831-36  
 SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY . . 1871 —  
 THEOPHILUS R. MARVIN 1833 —  
 THOMAS MOTLEY . . . . 1839-40  
 WILLIAM P. MASON . . . 1828-29  
 WILLIAM P. MASON . . . 1830-32

## N.

GEORGE B. NEAL . . . . 1859 —  
 OTIS NORCROSS . . . . 1867 —

## O.

FRANCIS J. OLIVER . . . 1825-29  
 FRANCIS J. OLIVER . . . 1830-40  
 GEORGE W. OTIS . . . . 1833-57\*

## P.

DANIEL PUTNAM . . . . 1825-29  
 FRANCIS PEABODY . . . . 1729-47  
 GEORGE PEABODY . . . . 1828-29

HENRY A. PEIRCE . . . 1819-74  
 JAMES W. PAIGE . . . . 1841-68\*  
 JESSE PUTNAM . . . . 1823-28  
 JONATHAN PHILLIPS . . . 1826-29  
 JOSEPH PEABODY . . . . 1827-28  
 STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS . . 1832-57\*  
 THOMAS H. PERKINS . . . 1834-39  
 THOMAS H. PERKINS . . . 1856 —  
 WILLIAM PERKINS . . . . 1872 —  
 WILLIAM PRESCOTT . . . 1824-27  
 WILLIAM PRESCOTT . . . 1831-32

## R.

BENJAMIN T. REED . . . 1840-74\*  
 EDWARD H. ROBBINS . . . 1828-29  
 JOHN H. REED . . . . 1874 —  
 JOHN RAYNOR . . . . 1833-40

## S.

ASA SWALLOW . . . . 1840-64\*  
 DAVID SEARS . . . . 1824-28  
 FREDERICK H. STIMPSON 1865-73\*  
 GARDINER HOWLAND SHAW 1853-67\*  
 GEORGE C. SHATTUCK . . . 1835-40  
 HIRAM SHURTLEFF . . . . 1875 —  
 JOSEPH E. SPRAGUE . . . 1828-29  
 JAMES W. SEVER . . . . 1866-71\*  
 JOHN K. SIMPSON . . . . 1833-38  
 JOHN SKINNER . . . . 1829-49\*  
 L. MILES STANDISH . . . 1873 —  
 LEVERET SALTONSTALL . . 1823-28  
 LEVERET SALTONSTALL . . 1829-39  
 NATHANIEL SILSBEE . . . 1823-24  
 NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF 1857-74\*  
 ROBERT G. SHAW . . . . 1828-53\*  
 SAMUEL SWETT . . . . 1823-29  
 TIMOTHY T. SAWYER . . . 1855 —  
 WILLIAM SULLIVAN . . . . 1823-29  
 WILLIAM SULLIVAN . . . . 1831-32  
 WILLIAM W. STONE . . . . 1832-54

## T.

ABRAM R. THOMPSON . . . 1829-30  
 ABRAM R. THOMPSON . . . 1853-66\*

BENJAMIN THOMPSON . . . . .	1851-53*	G. WASHINGTON WARREN	1875 —
GEORGE TICKNOR . . . . .	1823-26	HENRY WALKER . . . . .	1874 —
HENRY K. THATCHER . . . . .	1875 —	J. HUNTINGTON WOLCOTT	1841 —
ISRAEL THORNDIKE . . . . .	1832-33	JOHN C. WARREN . . . . .	1823-29
JOB TURNER . . . . .	1836-54	JOHN WELLS . . . . .	1824-28
JOSEPH TILDEN . . . . .	1832-53*	JOHN D. WILLIAMS . . . . .	1829-30
JOHN H. THORNDIKE . . . . .	1854 —	JOHN D. WILLIAMS . . . . .	1832-48
JOHN P. THORNDIKE . . . . .	1833-65*	JONATHAN MASON WARREN	1849-67*
NATHAN TUFTS . . . . .	1828-30	JONATHAN WHITNEY . . . . .	1833-39
NATHAN TUFTS . . . . .	1832-36*	J. COLLINS WARREN . . . . .	1867 —
WILLIAM TUDOR . . . . .	1825-28	JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN . . . . .	1860 —
JOEL THAYER . . . . .	1831-32	MARK WEARE . . . . .	1833-34
JOSEPH B. THOMAS . . . . .	1871 —	OLIVER WOLCOTT . . . . .	1824-27
V.		ROBERT C. WINTHROP . . . . .	1855-56
SHADRACK VARNEY . . . . .	1840-49	SAMUEL H. WALLEY . . . . .	1840 —
W.		SIMON WILKINSON . . . . .	1833-40
BENJAMIN WHIPPLE . . . . .	1829-30	THOMAS B. WALES . . . . .	1840-53*
CHARLES WELLS . . . . .	1829-33	TIMOTHY WALKER . . . . .	1829-30
DANIEL WEBSTER . . . . .	1823-25	WILLIAM W. WHEILDON	1845 —
DANIEL WELD . . . . .	1831-32	WILLIAM WYMAN . . . . .	1840-43
G. WASHINGTON WARREN	1836-39	Y.	
		AMMI B. YOUNG . . . . .	1848-57

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS.

1825.

ORATOR . . . . .	Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER.
CHAPLAINS . . . . .	{ Rev. JOSEPH THAXTER.
	{ Rev. JAMES WALKER, D.D.
CHIEF MARSHAL of Procession . . . . .	Gen. THEODORE LYMAN, JR.
„ „ „ Grounds . . . . .	Col. SAMUEL JAQUES.

1843.

ORATOR . . . . .	Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER.
CHAPLAIN . . . . .	Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.
CHIEF MARSHAL of Procession . . . . .	Gen. SAMUEL CHANDLER.
„ „ „ Grounds . . . . .	Mr. JAMES W. PAIGE.

## 1850.

ORATOR . . . . .	Hon. EDWARD EVERETT.
CHAPLAIN . . . . .	Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.
CHIEF MARSHAL . . . . .	Col. ISAAC H. WRIGHT.

## 1857.

ORATORS . . . . .	{ Hon. EDWARD EVERETT.
	{ Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.
CHAPLAIN . . . . .	Rev. JAMES WALKER, D.D.
GRAND MARSHAL of Procession . . . . .	Col. THOMAS ASPINWALL.
CHIEF       ,,       ,, Grounds . . . . .	JAMES LAWRENCE, Esq.

## 1861.

ORATOR . . . . .	Gov. JOHN A. ANDREW.
CHAPLAIN . . . . .	Rev. JAMES B. MILES.
CHIEF MARSHAL . . . . .	Hon. JAMES DANA.

## 1875.

ORATOR . . . . .	Hon. CHARLES DEVENS, Jr.
CHAPLAINS . . . . .	{ Rev. RUFUS ELLIS, D.D.
	{ Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS.
CHIEF MARSHAL of Association . . . . .	Col. HENRY WALKER.
,,       ,,       ,, City of Boston . . . . .	Gen. FRANCIS A. OSBORN.

## CHAPLAINS AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

In 1862 it was voted that in future the Annual Meetings be opened by prayer and that the President appoint the Chaplain.

1863 . . . . .	Rev. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D.D.
1864 . . . . .	Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.
1865 . . . . .	Rev. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, D.D.
1866 . . . . .	Rev. JAMES B. MILES.
1867 . . . . .	Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.
1868 . . . . .	Rev. RUFUS ELLIS.
1870 . . . . .	Rev. CHARLES E. GRINNELL.
1871 . . . . .	Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS.
1872 . . . . .	Rev. RUFUS ELLIS, D.D.
1873 . . . . .	Rev. JOHN F. W. WARE.
1874 . . . . .	Prof. WILLIAM EVERETT.
1875 . . . . .	Rev. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D.D.
1876 . . . . .	Rev. THOMAS R. LAMBERT, D.D.

## Honorary Members.

---

### A.

JAMES ALDEN.  
\*JOHN ADAMS.  
\*JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

### B.

\*BENJAMIN BUSSEY.  
\*ICHABOD BARTLETT.  
\*PETER C. BROOKS.  
\*SIMON BOLIVAR.  
\*WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

### C.

\*CHARLES CARROLL, of Carroll-  
ton.  
\*DEWITT CLINTON.  
GEORGE W. CURTIS.  
\*HENRY CLAY.  
\*JOHN CARTER.

### D.

CHARLES H. DAVIS.  
\*DAVID DAGGETT.  
\*HENRY DEARBORN.  
\*JOSEPH DESHA.

### E.

\*WILLIAM EUSTIS.

### F.

\*DAVID G. FARRAGUT.  
HAMILTON FISH.

### G.

\*A. K. GOVAN.  
\*GARDINER GREENE.  
\*GEORGE GIBBS.  
\*JOHN GAILLARD.  
\*ROBERT GILMER.  
\*SAMUEL GORE.  
ULYSSES S. GRANT.  
\*WILLIAM GRAY.

### H.

\*JOHN HOFFMAN.  
\*ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

### J.

\*LEONARD JARVIS.  
\*THOMAS JEFFERSON.

### K.

\*JAMES KENT.  
\*JOHN T. KIRKLAND.  
JUDSON KILPATRICK.

### L.

\*LAFAYETTE.  
\*CHARLES LOWELL.  
\*JOHN LOWELL.  
OSCAR LAFAYETTE.

### M.

\*C. F. MERCER.  
\*DAVID LAWRENCE MORRILL.  
\*GEORGE McDUFFIE.

\*GEORGE G. MEADE.  
IRVIN McDOWELL.  
\*JAMES MADISON.  
\*JAMES MONROE.  
\*JOHN MARSHALL.  
\*JONATHAN MASON.  
\*MARCUS MORTON.  
\*PEREZ MORTON.

## N.

\*JOSEPH W. NEWCOMB.  
\*RICHARD E. NEWCOMB.

## O.

\*HARRISON G. OTIS.

## P.

\*BENJAMIN PICKMAN.  
\*BENJAMIN PIERCE.  
\*BERNARD PEYTON.  
\*DANIEL PUTNAM.  
DAVID D. PORTER.  
\*ELIJAH PAINE.  
\*GEORGE PEABODY.  
\*ISAAC PARKER.  
\*JAMES PLEASANTS.  
\*WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

## S.

\*BENJAMIN SILLIMAN.  
CHARLES STEEDMAN.  
CARL SCHURZ.  
\*JOSEPH STORY.  
PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.  
\*SAMUEL SOUTHARD.  
\*WILLIAM C. SOMERVILLE. .  
WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

## T.

\*GEORGE TUCKER.  
\*ISRAEL THORNDIKE.  
\*THOMAS TODD.

## V.

\*C. P. VANNESS.  
\*WILLIAM VANCE.

## W.

\*ARNOLD WELLES.  
\*JOHN WILSON.  
\*JOHN A. WINSLOW.  
\*OLIVER WOLCOTT.  
\*THOMAS L. WINTHROP.

Dear Sir

been elected an h  
Association. The  
memoration, hold  
History, itself so a  
Object of the Asso.  
The honorary rela  
as a claim to u

Edward Everett. Secy. &





Sir

I regret very  
in alternate, which  
case, prevented my  
letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> of m  
sooner answered. At  
the Hunter hill mo  
electing me an hono  
been very gratifying  
with all the consider  
portant occurrences  
of which, a woman  
always unite in m

W

Y



Dear

Very  
inform  
honor  
honor  
tender  
my  
the

To Edward  
Y.

J.

Newark March 25-1825



Sir

New York March 25-1880

I acknowledge the favor of your note  
of the 20<sup>th</sup> inst. & I feel myself much honored in being elected  
a member of the Brewster Club Permanent Association.  
It is perfectly agreeable to me united with that Association  
& I will cheerfully comply with the suggestion of the  
Association of any course to

Wm Brewster

Wm Brewster

Wm Brewster

Secy of the Country Committee



...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...





For

Westbury Jan 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1825

I have duly received your letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> April,  
informing me of my election as an honorary member of the Boston  
Anti Association, formed to commemorate one of the most important  
military events in our History. I am greatly obliged by this kind  
consideration of me, and beg you to convey to the Society the  
sincerely with which I accept the highly distinguished honor  
which it has been pleased to confer on me.

Edward Everett Esq<sup>r</sup>.

dc. dc. dc

I am with great respect  
Your obedient servant

R. Clay



## Associate Members.

ELECTED BY THE ASSOCIATION SINCE 1860.

N. B. — The names of the original Members, and of all who were *elected* by the Association before 1860, will be found on pages 44-47.

### A.

\*Edwin F. Adams.  
Francis B. Austin.  
Frederic Amory.  
Henry C. Adams.  
H. Edward Abbott.  
James Adams, Jr.  
James W. Austin.  
Joseph B. Ames.  
Robert Amory.  
Thomas C. Amory.  
\*Thomas Aspinwall.  
William Appleton, Jr.  
William Aspinwall.

### B.

Andrew Jackson Bailey.  
Buckminster Brown.  
Charles V. Bemis.  
Charles R. Byram.  
Eben F. Barker.  
Edward T. Barker.  
Ezekiel G. Byam.  
Francis Brooks.  
George H. Burr.  
George P. Baldwin.  
Henry N. Blake.  
Henry W. Bragg.  
John P. Barnard.  
\*Leonard C. Bowles.  
Nathaniel J. Bradlee.  
Nelson Bartlett.

Peter Baker.

Peter C. Brooks, Jr.  
Phillips Brooks.  
S. Stoddard Blanchard.  
Thomas P. Beal.  
T. Quincy Browne.  
William E. Bicknell.  
William G. Brooks.

### C.

Abram E. Cutter.  
Alvin Colburn.  
Arthur B. Coburn.  
Charles A. Clapp.  
Charles F. Choate.  
Charles R. Codman.  
Charles T. Carruth.  
Ethan N. Coburn.  
George A. Coolidge.  
George B. Chase.  
George G. Crocker.  
George H. Campbell.  
Henry C. Cutter.  
Linus M. Child.  
Nahum Chapin.  
Samuel C. Cobb.  
Seth E. Clapp.  
Uriel H. Crocker.

### D.

Arthur Lithgow Devens.  
Charles Devens, Jr.

Charles Deane.  
 Charles H. Drew.  
 Edward F. Devens.  
 Franklin Darracott.  
 F. A. Downing.  
 F. Marland Darracott.  
 Oliver Ditson.  
 Richard H. Dana, Jr.  
 Stephen G. Deblois.  
 Thomas Dana, 2d.  
 Thomas Dwight, Jr.  
 William J. Dale.

## E.

Edward Everett.  
 George D. Edmands.  
 Henry Herbert Edes.  
 Isaac P. T. Edmands.  
 Percival L. Everett.  
 Rufus Ellis.  
 Thomas R. B. Edmands.  
 William Everett.

## F.

Alfred D. Foster.  
 Andrew C. Fearing, Jr.  
 Charles E. Fuller.  
 Charles F. Fairbanks.  
 Edward J. Forster.  
 George Darracott Fenno.  
 Charles C. French.  
 John K. Fuller.  
 Jonas H. French.  
 Lyman P. French.  
 Rufus S. Frost.  
 Thomas G. Frothingham.  
 William H. Finney.

## G.

Charles E. Grinnell.  
 Charles O. Gage.  
 Charles S. Gill.  
 George F. Greene.  
 John Goldthwait.

Joseph F. Green.  
 Nehemiah Gibson.  
 Richard C. Greenleaf.  
 Samuel A. Green.  
 Samuel C. Goodwin.

## H.

Albert H. Hoyt.  
 Charles Hale.  
 \*Charles Chauncey Haven.  
 Charles D. Homans.  
 Clement Hugh Hill.  
 Franklin A. Hall.  
 Francis B. Hayes.  
 Franklin Hopkins.  
 G. H. W. Herrick.  
 George Hyde.  
 Hamilton A. Hill.  
 H. Hollis Hunnewell.  
 Henry C. Hutchins.  
 Horace G. Hutchins.  
 \*Isaac H. Hooper.  
 \*Israel Hunt.  
 James F. Hunnewell.  
 Joseph Healy.  
 John W. Hunt.  
 Josiah Little Hale.  
 Liverus Hull.  
 Moses Hunt.  
 Philip Hichborn.  
 Samuel H. Hurd.  
 Samuel P. Hinckley.  
 Thomas B. Harris.  
 \*William Harris.  
 \*William Sturgis Hooper.  
 Walter Hastings.

## J.

Daniel Johnson.  
 E. Worthen James.  
 Francis Jaques.  
 Henry Percy Jaques.  
 Henry F. Jenks.  
 Thomas H. B. James.

## K.

Charles K. Kirby.  
George A. Kettell.  
George P. King.  
James W. Kidney.  
John Kent.  
L. Cushing Kimball.  
William H. Kent.

## L.

Abbott Lawrence.  
Amory A. Lawrence.  
Charles R. Lawrence.  
Edward Lawrence, Jr.  
Frederic W. Lincoln, Jr.  
George E. Littlefield.  
George W. Little.  
Henry Lyon.  
Henry W. Lyon.  
James Lawrence.  
Jacob Littlefield.  
Samuel P. Langmaid.  
Solomon Lincoln.  
Thomas R. Lambert.  
Theodore Lyman.  
William Lawrence.

## M.

Anthony S. Morss.  
Albert Mason.  
Charles Merriam.  
Edward S. Moseley.  
\*Frederic W. Moores.  
Godfrey Morse.  
\*James B. Miles.  
Nathan Mathews.  
Nathaniel B. Mansfield.  
Robert M. Mason.  
W. T. R. Marvin.  
William Makepeace.  
William B. Morris.

## N.

Grenville H. Norcross.  
Otis Norcross.

Otis Norcross, Jr.  
Serenio D. Nickerson.

## O.

Francis A. Osborn.

## P.

Asa P. Potter.  
Charles E. Powers.  
Edwards A. Park.  
George S. Poole.  
George W. Palmer.  
Peter Parker.  
\*Robert S. Perkins.  
William Perkins.  
William E. Perkins.

## R.

Augustus Richardson.  
Caleb Rand.  
Edward B. Robins.  
Henry M. Rogers.  
\*Isaac F. Redfield.  
John Codman Ropes.  
\*John Reed.  
John H. Reed.  
\*Luther C. Redfield.  
William L. Richardson.

## S.

Andrew Sawtell.  
Arthur J. C. Sowdon.  
Benjamin F. Stacey.  
Charles E. Stevens.  
Charles A. B. Shepard.  
\*David Sears, Jr.  
D. Waldo Salisbury.  
Frank E. Sweetser.  
Francis H. Swan.  
Hiram S. Shurtleff.  
Isaac H. Sweetser.  
James E. Stone.  
\*James W. Sever.  
John Stowell.  
John H. Studley.

L. Miles Standish.  
 Lemuel Shaw.  
 Phinehas J. Stone.  
 Phinehas J. Stone, Jr.  
 Solomon B. Stebbins.  
 Thomas L. Swann.  
 Timothy T. Sawyer, Jr.  
 Warren Sawyer.  
 William B. Stearns.  
 William W. Swan.

## T.

Abraham R. Thompson.  
 Edwin Thompson.  
 Ezra J. Trull.  
 Edward S. Tobey.  
 Francis Thompson.  
 Frederick Tudor.  
 George F. Thorndike.  
 Henry Elmer Townsend.  
 Henry Knox Thatcher.  
 Joseph B. Thomas.  
 John L. Thorndike.  
 Washington B. Trull.  
 William W. Tucker.

## W.

Albert J. Wright.  
 Alexander S. Wheeler.  
 Arthur W. Willard.

Charles Whittier.  
 Charles Woodbury.  
 Charles Herbert Williams.  
 \*Daniel H. Whitney.  
 David B. Weston.  
 Edward Warren.  
 Erving Winslow.  
 Francis C. Whiston.  
 Freeman A. Walker.  
 Henry Walker.  
 Henry Austin Whitney.  
 Henry D. Williams.  
 Henry F. Woods.  
 Henry L. J. Warren.  
 Henry M. Wightman.  
 Henry W. Williams.  
 Henshaw B. Walley.  
 J. Collins Warren.  
 J. Otis Wetherbee.  
 John S. Whiting.  
 John Wilson.  
 John B. Wilson.  
 Joseph W. Warren.  
 Lucius H. Warren.  
 \*Luther F. Whitney.  
 Marshall P. Wilder.  
 Roger Wolcott.  
 Sampson Warren.  
 Samuel S. Willson.  
 William F. Weld.